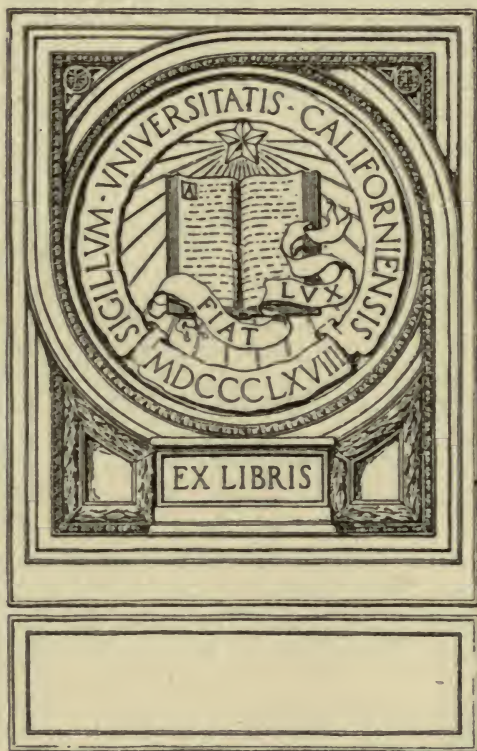


EXCHANGE





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Journal of Francis Collins

An Artillery Officer in the Mexican War

Edited by

MARIA CLINTON COLLINS

CINCINNATI
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Francis Collins, the writer of the following Journal, was born 1820, in Lowville, Lewis Co., New York. His parents were Ela Collins and Maria Clinton, the children of General Oliver Collins and the Rev. Isaac Clinton. Both families had been long known and respected in connection with the early history and settlement of New England. Francis Collins received his early education at the Lowville Academy, and in 1841, he was appointed to and entered West Point, as a member of the class of 1845. Being graduated with the rank of Second Lieutenant in the Fourth Artillery, he was employed in the recruiting service in Virginia and North Carolina. On the breaking out of the Mexican War, he engaged in active service. According to the record of the Army Register, Mr. Collins was Second Lieutenant, August 18, 1846; First Lieutenant, September 13, 1847; resigned December 11, 1850. Brevet rank; Brevet First Lieutenant, August 20, 1850 for gallant and meritorious conduct at Contreras and Churubusco.

At the close of the war Lieutenant Collins was put in charge of a ship conveying troops to the North. Yellow fever broke out among the men and made terrible ravages. Amidst the horrors of such a situation, Mr. Collins displayed heroic qualities in nursing. Although stricken with the disease himself, he did not give way until he had landed his men at Fortress Monroe. He lay then at the point of death for many days, and probably never recovered entirely from the effects of the disease. After two more years of service he resigned, and studied law in the office of the Hon. William S. Groesbeck of Cincinnati. Being admitted to the bar in 1851, he took up his residence in Dayton, O. In 1852, he married Helen, a daughter of the Hon. Alfred Kelley of Columbus, O. In 1853, Mr. Collins removed to Columbus, where he resided until his death. In 1856, he

was elected to the City Council and served two years. During the many years of his residence in this city he filled many public and responsible positions with marked ability and integrity.

Francis Collins was a brother of William Collins of Cleveland and of Isaac Clinton Collins of Cincinnati, both well-known Ohio lawyers. Colonel J. T. Holmes of Columbus, O., says of Mr. Collins in his Memorial printed in the reports of the Ohio State Bar Association, Vol. 9, 1888:

"Of medium height, sturdy build, dark-featured, black hair and eyes, courtly manners, kind-hearted, he remained through his work in our profession, his travels and decline, to the end what his early education made him, a scholarly, accomplished, and thorough soldier and gentleman." Compiled from Obituary notices in the Columbus, O., papers, 1882.

THE JOURNAL OF FRANCIS COLLINS, AN ARTILLERY OFFICER IN THE MEXICAN WAR.¹

The following notes of incidents in my life and experience, were mostly written down at the time of their occurrence. Sometimes circumstances would not permit this; but in all cases they were made while the incidents were fresh in my mind. It was my custom to carry in my pocket a little note book and pencil, during the time I was an actor in the scenes herein narrated, and when anything occurred which I thought it would be pleasant to recall when time would have obliterated it from my memory, I made a note of it. At the first it was my intention to have kept a regular journal of such events, connected with the operations of our Army in Mexico, as fell under my immediate observation; but for many reasons some good, and some bad, I greatly neglected the matter, and in consequence the following meager and barren notes are all I have preserved. Such as they are, however, they are interesting to me, because almost every incident narrated recalls others to my mind with which it is associated.

It could not happen often that anyone, however heedless and unobserving of passing events, could go through two years of campaign life in active service in an enemy's country, engaging in battles, and performing the varied duties of a subaltern officer, subject to the hardships and dangers of such a position as well as enjoying in a careless and happy way everything that had fun in it; working hard, and getting little credit for it; but generally relieved from much responsibility—it could not often happen but that one would see much which was worth remembering and pleasant to recall. Such an experience, too is not wanting in lessons of useful knowledge, and subjects of philosophic reflection. If I was such a charming old gossip as Montaigne, I would sit down in my idle moments (of which I

¹ The original MSS. is in the possession of his niece, Maria Clinton Collins, Cincinnati, Ohio. The transcript thereof is exact with the exception of a few changes made in orthography and punctuation for the sake of clearness.

am thankful, I have not many) and write out all these thoughts in such a familiar way as would make it like talking with an old friend of the almost forgotten incidents of our by-gone years. But as I cannot do this in so quaint and pleasant a way as the delightful Frenchman has done, in giving us the fruit of his experience, I will content myself with saving from forgetfulness what will, perhaps, in time to come reward me for my labors.

In the month of June, in the year 1841, I was entered a cadet in the United States Military Academy at West Point. I remained through the regular term of four years, and was duly graduated in June 1845, when I received a commission as Brevet Second Lieutenant in the U. S. Army, and was attached for duty to the Fourth Regiment of Artillery. After receiving my diploma at West Point, a furlough of three months was granted me. At the expiration of my furlough October 1, 1845, I joined the army at Old Point Comfort, Va., and was assigned for duty to Company F. commanded by Brevet Major John L. Gardner. The Fourth Regiment of Artillery was commanded at that time by Col. John B. Walbach and had its Head Quarters at Fort Monroe, Va.

I remained in this garrison until May 1846, when war being declared against Mexico,² all our small force was sent into the field. The regiments were mere skeletons, and in order to fill them up as rapidly as possible all the officers which could be spared were distributed through the different states on the Recruiting Service. I was sent first to Raleigh, North Carolina, where I remained about two months, and then visited different towns west of Raleigh.

In the early part of the month of October of the same year, I received orders to close my rendezvous and join my company at Fort Monroe, Va., preparatory to embarking for the seat of war. This was what I had long been anticipating with great

² President Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor, who had been sent to Texas with about four thousand men, to cross the Nueces River, and later ordered him to advance to the Rio Grande. The Mexicans, regarding this forward movement as an invasion of their rights, attacked and defeated a small detachment of Taylor's army. When the report of the conflict reached Washington (May, 1846), the President informed Congress that "Mexico has shed American blood upon American soil. War exists, and exists by the act of Mexico herself." Congress accepted the issue thus raised, and war followed. The Mexican War was in reality an attack on a weak nation by a strong one. —*Channing: Students' History of the United States*, p. 447.

pleasure. I was at this time in the dull, uninteresting town of Greensboro in Guilford, Co., N. C., which was so inaccessible to all news that I was utterly ignorant of what I was most desirous to know, Viz., how my comrades were getting on in the field, and whether they were not advancing their promotion, while I was vegetating in that remote and insignificant village. A few days sufficed to enable me to close my rendezvous, and, with such recruits as I had on hand, join my company at Old Point Comfort. No sooner had I reached there, however, than I was seized with a violent attack of bilious fever which had been accumulating for months in my system during my sojourn in the unhealthy regions of North Carolina. It went very hard with me, and when I finally recovered my company had sailed for Texas. Colonel Walbach being upward of eighty years of age though still vigorous, was not allowed to accompany his regiment into the field, and remaining behind in an empty garrison, he tried hard to detain me on nominal duty with him. To this I very much objected, and at last succeeded in getting orders to join my company on the Rio Grande, Texas. I was not yet quite strong enough to travel, but fearful lest the old Colonel might succeed in his efforts to detain me in his command, composed for the most part of innumerable fat, lazy dogs, and wives and children, which the soldiers were obliged to leave behind them, I was determined to start for my post.

Traveling by way of Baltimore and Wheeling, down the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, I arrived at New Orleans on November 7, and on the 10th sailed for Brazas, Santiago, where I arrived on the 15th. Here I learned that my Regiment was at Camp Belknap on the Rio Grande opposite the Mexican village of Berita.

Owing to the complete failure of our Navy to obtain possession of any important sea-port town on the Gulf, it was in contemplation at this time to attack Tampico by land, and with this in view it was designed to concentrate a force at Fort Belknap, or some other point on the river to march on Tampico, under the command of Major General Patterson. Patterson did not belong to the regular army but was appointed for the war by President Polk, and was one of the poorest of his appointments. The expedition against Tampico progressed slowly. Only four or five companies of Artillery, serving as infantry, had been collected at Camp Belknap, when Commodore Conner

arrived off the mouth of the Rio Grande with the intelligence that Tampico had been evacuated by the Mexican troops, and that the city was ready to surrender to our troops. Our whole force amounting in all to not more than four hundred men, under command of Lieut. Colonel Francis Beltan was immediately embarked with a small supply of ordinance, and on the 21st of November sailed for Tampico, where we arrived on the 23rd. When we reached sight of the city there were Mexicans enough gathered on the landing to have driven us back with clubs and stones, if they had had the spirit to have done so, but they offered no resistance and we boldly disembarked and took the town.

Tampico is regularly laid out and substantially built, without much pretension to beauty of architecture. It contains a population of about five thousand inhabitants. Its situation is very favorable to defense, being in an elbow of the Pemico River, which on the opposite side is marshy and inaccessible. In the rear of the city is Lake Carpentero, so situated as to make the only approaches by land, over two narrow necks lying between either extremity of the lake and the river above and below the city. As soon as we obtained possession and had time to look about us and see the nature of our position, we immediately began the construction of fortifications at the necks, and made such a disposition of our small force as would enable us best to defend ourselves from any outward attacks or risings of the people in the town. This being done, we began to feel a little more secure, but still our situation was so inviting of attack, owing to our limited numbers, that we looked for an arrival of reinforcements with more than ordinary anxiety. In the course of a week, or ten days they began to arrive, and it was not long after, before we felt strong enough to defend ourselves and the city from any force that the enemy could have brought against us.

Not long after Brig. General James Shields arrived at the post with two regiments of Illinois Volunteers. He had been appointed civil and military governor of the city, and immediately on his arrival assumed command. I was, on his application, appointed his aid de camp. This appointment was much more agreeable to me than doing duty with my company, which I never much liked. At this time we had almost daily rumors of what the Mexican government was preparing to do. One day it would be said peace was soon to be made; the next day,

there could not be enough war to wipe out the foul pollution of the Yankee footsteps.

Except occasional rumors of an approaching enemy, matters went on quietly in Tampico, and we found our sojourn there very pleasant. The streets of the city gradually began to assume a more American aspect. The inhabitants who had fled at our approach began to return to their homes; goods and merchandise from the United States arrived in large quantities, the city was well governed and the natives themselves admitted that they felt more secure in their persons and property than they did when they had the government in their own hands.

About the first of January, 1847, Generals Patterson, Twiggs, Quitman, and Pillaw arrived with a part of the northern army from Monterey and Camargo, having performed a long and laborious march across the country. Their force consisted of about six thousand men mostly regulars, and was to compose a part of the army which at this time General Winfield Scott was concentrating at the island of Lobos, preparatory to an attack on Vera Cruz. This force encamped about three miles from town at a place named by them Camp Watson, in honor of gallant Colonel Watson Commander of the Baltimore Battalion of Militia, who fell at the siege of Monterey.

The first date I find among my notes is:

Tampico, Mexico, January 29, 1847.

To-day occupied with my usual routine of duties, which I find less tedious since my appointment as Aide-de-Camp to General Shields. This relieves me from drills, guards, and working parties, a drudgery for which I have no particular fancy; and as Shields is new at the business of soldiering, being but a Militia General, I feel no oppressive sense of his superior rank when thrown in contact with him. He is frequently compelled to rely either on his Adjutant or me for knowledge respecting his duties. All the new Generals appointed for the war have selected for their military families young men from the regular army, who have been educated at West Point, on whom they are compelled to rely for information and aid in the discharge of their duties. This evening I attended a very brilliant party given by Mr. Eversman, the German Consul, on the occasion of baptizing three of his children. Each of the guests received three small pieces of silver with holes through them, and suspended by ribbon of different colors—one for each child. This

seems to be a custom among the Germans, the origin of which I did not learn. The evening passed off very pleasantly. The Mexican *Senoritas* condescended to bestow their smiles on the barbarous Yankees, who were present, and we did not allow them to think their beauty passed unnoticed. It was late in the night when the party dispersed. Hammond had his watch a valuable gold one stolen from his pocket, in consequence, I think, of having become a little too much under the influence of the Jollie God. He and I had an adventure on our way home, which place he did not reach until the next morning. Having as I afterwards, learned occupied some of the soft stones in the Plaza as a bed. When I got home I found Hack Brown in bed, but very talkative.

Our quarters consist of a delightful cottage situated in a pleasant part of town, occupied solely by three of us, Brown being also one of General Shields's family on duty as topographical officer. Our cottage being pleasantly situated, and always plentifully supplied with good entertainment, it is a favorite resort for all our friends when they come into town from the camps. Having employed a couple of French cooks, and having a fine market to obtain supplies from, our table always presents a very tempting appearance to those who are not so favorably situated and who are compelled to content themselves with the coarse provisions and cooking necessarily found in camps.

January 31,—Another proof that campaign life is full of ups and downs—The fine easy cottage life is ended, and I am again back to duty with my company. To-day Colonel Gates made representations to General Shields that there were not officers enough on duty with the regiments, and requested that I should be relieved from duty as *Aid-de-Camp*, and ordered to my company. My services not being very necessary to the General's staff, Shields granted Gates's application, and here I am again for drills, guard duty etc., and my fine horse taken away from me. All positions are just what we ourselves make them, so here goes for a good time, notwithstanding the loss of a few comforts.

February 3" Captain Miller, the commanding officer of company "A" (my company 4th Artillery) and Magiltan, Sub-Lieut. started this morning with a detachment of fifty of our men, to the relief of two hundred and eighty volunteers of a Louisiana regiment, who are reported to have been wrecked on

the coast about thirty miles below Tampico, and to have lost most of their arms and provisions, and in consequence are in great fear of being captured by the Mexicans. The remainder of our company comprising about fifty men are left under my command.

Feb'y. 6''. 2d. Lieut. Daniel Gibson, 2d Artillery, died here to-day of fever and dysentery.

Feb'y. 9''. Capt. Miller returned from his expedition—having rescued the Louisiana soldiers from a most deadly assault of mosquitos. Magiltan gives a very rich account of the expedition.

Feb'y. 19'' General Scott arrived here to-day from Brazas, Santiago, where he has been for sometime past perfecting his arrangements for a descent on Vera Cruz. He declares martial law in force throughout all the Mexican provinces of which we have possession. He comes here for the purpose of organizing troops near here under the command of Gen'ls Patterson, Twiggs, Pillow, Quitman, and Shields, about six thousand strong. We expect soon all to be put in motion for the island of Lobos where the Vera Cruz army³ is to be concentrated.

20'' Feb'y. Twiggs ordered to evacuate camp Watson and move with his division⁴ to the mouth of the Pambico river from which point he is to embark for Lobos.

25'' Feb'y. To-day four companies of the 2'' Reg. Arty. and my company all under command of Colonel Bankhead, sailed from Tampico on board the ship Maine for the island of Lobos.

27'' Feb'y. Arrived at Lobos Island. There are about forty transports here laden with troops and stores. It is probable we will be detained at this place for some days awaiting the arrival of the other transports. This island is about sixty miles down the coast from Tampico, south; and between ten and fifteen miles off shore. It is about one mile and a half in circumference, and much of it covered with a dense growth of chapperel that is a thicket of bushes and small trees interlaced with vines etc. None of the troops have been disembarked on the island except those on the transports where disease began

³ At this time Scott stated Taylor's army, including Wool's command, to be 20,500, to be shortly increased to 27,250 by nine additional regiments of volunteers. From them he proposed to withdraw 14,000 for the Vera Cruz expedition. *U. S. Govt. Doc., Cong. 30, Ses. 1, H. Ex. 59, p. 59-60.*

⁴ See p. 75 of Journal for description of Division.

to make its appearance, which is confined entirely to "volunteers." They have embarked in this campaign in anticipation of a grand frolic, but I fancy before they get through with it they will wish they might be comfortably at home again. I think they will find more reality and less romance in it than they thought, and will wish themselves comfortably at home again.

30" Feb'y. During the past few days many more transports have arrived with troops and still they come. All are in high spirits. From daylight until dark the waters are spotted with small boats filled with visitors from one ship to another. Crowds of officers are gathered about on the decks, some laughing and singing, and others earnestly discussing the grand operations of the approaching campaign. The private soldiers are busy scrubbing, cleaning, cooking and smoking, and all the mass of these thousands of human beings are excited by the coming contest. General Scott is busily engaged in perfecting the organization of his army and orders emanating from him are hourly circulating through the fleet. He is on board the steamship Massachusetts, and has some of the companies of my regiment with him. He has directed that when the Massachusetts makes the signal agreed on, all sail shall be set immediately for "Anton Lizards", the rendezvous appointed near Vera Cruz.

2" March. Today at Twelve o'clock the old Massachusetts fired her signal, and immediately after came ploughing through the fleet, giving the lead for Vera Cruz, or rather Anton Lizards. Shouts and cheers, and martial music, peal upon peal, burst from the ten thousand throats, as the old chief towering high, with uncovered head, stood on the deck as his ship passed along, dashing the spray from her bows, as if knowing her charge to many victories. Never did I witness on any other occasion so much enthusiasm. Proud should be the man and confident, who commands such hearts! In a very short time every sail was set, and an hundred ships with a good breeze were under way for the appointed destination. It was indeed a magnificent sight and one long to be remembered.

5" March. Soon after leaving the island of Lobos the wind stiffened, and the captain of each ship, sailing according to his peculiar mode and fancy, the fleet soon became separated. For the first and second days out the wind was ahead, sometimes blowing a gale. Our progress, therefore was slow. On the third

day, under a heavy "Norther" we bore down rapidly on the harbor of Anton Lizards. This morning it was in sight, the tall masts of the ships which had out-sailed us being visible. Now the first occasional glances were caught of the famous castle of San Juan d'Ulloa. But long before we had any other indications of land, while we were yet far out at sea the snow-capped peak of old Orezaba could be seen reaching up into the clouds. After pitching about for a while, and carefully picking her way among the coral reefs, our good ship Maine came up, and dropped her anchor by the side of her beautiful sisters of the ocean.

8" March. One after another all the transports of the fleet which left the island of Lobos, have concentrated here at this point, within view of their prey, the castle and city of Vera Cruz. Again may be seen the same groups of officers, engaged as at Lobos, and on every hand are heard the sounds of mirth, music and singing, and the busy hum of earnest preparation.

The harbor of Anton Lizards is formed by a reef of coral running parallel to the coast and about one mile or a little more from it. Ships lying between this reef and the coast are well protected from the furious "Northers" and rough seas so common in this latitude. There is a great deal of discussion among us as to the point where General Scott will disembark his army. There is no operation so hazardous as that of landing troops on a hostile coast, opposed by enemies. We are unable to see from where we are, any indications that the Mexicans are making, or even preparing to make any opposition to our landing. It seems to me they might oppose it with great success. We could land from our present anchorage, and in many respects it is a favorable point to do so. Its distance from the city, being about eight miles, is greater perhaps than General Scott wishes, from the focus of his operations, and there are probably other objections to it, that those who are not in the secrets, are ignorant of. But twenty-four hours more will determine the matter.

9 March. This morning all the troops that could be crowded on to them were transferred from the different transports to the steamships. My company was transferred to General Scott's ship, the Massachusetts, where the other companies of the Fourth Artillery were collected. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon all weighed anchor and got under way for the anchorage of Sacrificios from whence, it had been decided, that the disem-

barkation should take place. The United States men-of-war, and the steam ships led the van, the sail vessels containing the remainder of the army following close after, being favored by a good breeze. In about two hours all arrived in position under shelter of the small island of Sacrificios which lies about three miles south of Vera Cruz, and one fourth of a mile from the coast. Behind this island the ships had a safe anchorage, and were able to approach within a quarter of a mile to the land. Under the most favorable circumstances the descent of an Army on an enemy's coast is a most delicate operation. In this case it was to be made on the most dangerous coast in the world, within view of a strongly fortified and garrisoned city, and almost under its guns. It was to be accomplished, too, by means of surf boats capable of carrying about seventy men each, which were to be impelled through the beating surf. It must necessarily, therefore be a slow operation, and of course, if any opposition was offered, a hazardous one, since, packed as we were in the small boats it was impossible to make any resistance. The Army—that is the regular troops—(in this the General showed his want of confidence in the volunteers, or new levies, for any operations requiring the best qualities of a soldier) were organized into two lines for the purpose of effecting the landing. The first line, under the command of General Worth, was to take the lead. This was composed of the Second Regiment Artillery, and the Fourth, Fifth Sixth and Eighth regiments of Infantry. After these boats had effected a landing the surf boats—of which there were not enough to land both lines at the same time—were to return and land in like manner the second line. This was composed of the First and Fourth Artillery and the First, Second, Third, and Seventh regiments of Infantry under the command of General Twiggs. The men-of-war formed on the flanks of these movements ran up as near to the coast as the depth of water would admit, and took position to cover the disembarkation with their heavy guns. These arrangements being effected, about six o'clock in the afternoon the troops of the first line were thrown as rapidly as possible into the small boats. There being some surplus boats, General Scott ordered them alongside the Massachusetts, and transferred the companies of my regiment into them. It was a moment of intense excitement, for as yet we did not know whether we would meet with any opposition from the enemy. Running

parallel with the coast at this point, and not more than one hundred and fifty yards from it, was a range of sand hills affording a strong and complete protection, behind which the enemy might, and for aught we knew, had placed batteries enough to riddle us to pieces. While in the boats we could offer no resistance, our troops not being allowed even to load their guns. If the Mexicans should open their fires upon us, we were to face them as bravely as possible, until the boats reached water, shallow enough to enable our men to leap out; this they were directed to do and forming as rapidly as possible on the coast, immediately attack the enemy. Fortunately, however, we met with no opposition, and soon our standards were floating on the hostile shores of Vera Cruz. The disembarkation of this line of troops was a grand spectacle, and indeed all the operations of this day have been of such a character as to excite the admiration and thrilling interest of all who beheld them. There were lying in the harbor of Vera Cruz two or three English and French men-of-war. It is wholly inexplicable to us why the enemy did not oppose our landing. There was a most singular combination of favorable circumstances to enable them to do so successfully. As soon as we were landed the boats returned for the second line, and the rest of the army followed. It was near morning when the disembarkation was completed. Our camp fires soon extended more than a mile along the coast. After our suppers, from what chanced to be in our haversacks, we lay down on the sand to get a little sleep or at any rate rest from the fatigues and excitement of the twelve hours past. Before leaving our ships orders had been given that every man should be provided with four days' rations in his haversack. As for bedding, we have not a blanket to cover ourselves with at night, and the dews are heavy and the air almost always chilly, notwithstanding our southern latitude.

While I was standing on the deck of the Massachusetts to-day as she came to anchor, Major Kirby came up to me as I was looking with intense interest on the surrounding scene, and said "What do you suppose the people up in the Black River country would say to such a sight as this?" This sudden mingling of the peaceful, quiet scenes of home with the grand and terrible business we have on hand, produced a very singular effect upon my mind. Major Kirby is a son-in-law of General Jacob Brown, of Brownsville, New York, and has some acquaintance with

my father. He regards the Black River country as his home as well as mine, hence his allusion to it to-day.

10th March. We did not get much rest last night. Our picket-guards came in contact with the guards of the enemy two or three times during the night. As each time it resulted in the exchange of a few shots, our entire camp was as often roused to arms. Our sleep and rest was the only thing damaged by the collisions.

At the break of day this morning the drums beat to arms, and in a short time the whole army, about thirteen thousand in numbers, was in motion, advancing towards the city of Vera Cruz. On the level beach and all together, the eye could take in the whole army at a glance. It was a very stirring military scene. Worth's division constituting the first line was the first to move off. After some skirmishing, resulting in a small loss on both sides, the division occupied the position assigned to it in the line of investment of the city; this was on the south side of the town and towards the point where we landed. The right wing of the division resting on the coast of the Gulf. Our division (Twiggs') constituting the second line is encamped for the night in the rear of General Worth's. Three brigades of volunteers under command of General Patterson have been extending themselves during the day on the left flank of General Worth's division and have partly gained their position in the line of investment. They met with some opposition from the enemy's skirmishes, which however was overcome without much loss. The batteries of the city and castle of San Juan de Ulúa have been slowly playing on us all day, but without doing much damage as far as I have learned.

11 March. More or less skirmishing last night. General Scott and his staff disembarked this morning. At an early hour to-day our division began to move forward towards the north side of the city for the purpose of extending the investment. The enemy has kept his batteries playing upon us continuously during the day, both from the city and castle; but as we took a route bending around the city, well-protected most of the time by a low range of sand hills, our loss has not been great. Captain Albertus of the Second regiment killed; one lieutenant wounded, and three or four privates killed or wounded, is the extent of our suffering so far as I have heard. At the time Captain Albertus was killed, our division was at a halt, waiting

for the removal of some obstructions in front. Availing himself of this opportunity he had seated himself on a log, and was reading a letter which he had received a short time before from home; while thus engaged a cannon ball took his head off.

A body of about three hundred Lancers have hung on our flanks and along our line of march to annoy us and impede our progress, but they have not succeeded very well in their object. We are encamped for tonight on the road to Orizaba. The numerous difficulties and obstructions which have impeded our progress, and the annoyance which we have received from the enemy's guns have made the day's advance of three or four miles very fatiguing.

12'' March. Our division has remained in camp to-day waiting for some reconnoitring parties to report the nature of the country. Although we are encamped within range of the guns of the city and castle they have not molested us, thanks to some low sand hills behind which we are sheltered. In the place of cannon balls, however, there has been a terrible "Norther" raging all day, and it would be difficult to decide which were the worse of the two. These northers frequently come upon us very suddenly and continue to blow with unceasing violence, sometimes for forty-eight hours. During such times the sand drifts about like snow in northern latitudes. It fills one's hair, eyes, nose and mouth; the finer sand gets into the pores of the skin, often causing painful irritation. At these times, too, we suffer much from cold. The destitute classes of the natives wrap their blankets, or "panchos" close around them, and squatting down in some corner when the wind in its greatest force is broken, they will hardly move for anything less than to save their lives.

13'' March. We were a good deal disturbed last night by parties of the enemy prowling around our camp. The city of Vera Cruz seemed also to be a good deal alarmed. It kept its batteries playing all night, and at short intervals filled the air with rockets, and covered the plain around the city with fire-balls. The object of this bright illumination, so well as we could conjecture was to prevent any surprise upon the city by our storming parties; this for some reason seemed to anticipate, and tried to prevent by lighting up the country around.

This morning, our division left the position which we occupied yesterday on the Orizaba road. At an early hour we were in motion pursuing a winding course around the city, extending

our line of investment to the left. After a march of six or seven miles we reached the national road leading from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico. From our present position to Vera Cruz it is about three miles. The left flank of our division now rests on the Gulf of Mexico, and thus our army completely surrounds the city of Vera Cruz. Owing to the length of the line over which it is extended, the investment is not very close. There are considerable intervals between the different divisions. As we draw in nearer to the city, contracting our line, these intervals will close up, or so nearly so, that they can be safely guarded by advance pickets.

We made a good capture to-day of three or four casks of wine, a portion of which, by order of General Twiggs, was distributed among the soldiers, each receiving as much as was well for him to drink. Considering the fatigue and thirst—the water being very bad—it was certainly a grateful prize.

For the purpose of more clearly observing the enemy, and watching his operations it has been ordered to-day that one company from each regiment throughout the line of investment shall be detailed each day to draw in towards the town as near as possible, by taking advantage of the inequalities of the ground to keep themselves under cover, and out of the reach of the enemy's batteries. This movement will be necessary only in the night as during the day we can see from our camp everything going on around the walls of the city.

15th March. This morning we left our position on the Jalapa road, for another nearer the city. Our line still extends across this road, and our right wing being extended reaches General Patterson's left; while our left rests on the Gulf. By this movement we have effected a more complete investment of the city. Last night Captain Bainbridge of my regiment, commanding the advanced company, surprised a courier sent out from the city with despatches for the government at the capital. He was trying to make his escape through our lines of investment when he fell upon the captain's company, an advance guard. He succeeded in getting away, but his horse, sword, despatches, cloak, etc. fell into the Captain's hands. His escape was owing to the darkness of the night. His despatches were found carefully rolled up, and thrust into a hollow stick which he carried, and which, it was supposed probably would escape notice even if the bearer should be captured. A painful incident occurred in

connection with this event. In the attempt to capture the courier several shots were fired at him, and in the confusion, one of these accidentally struck sergeant Blake of Bainbridge's company. Blake died from the effects of this wound in a few hours. He was a fine, soldierly fellow, and the whole regiment regrets his loss.

16" March. A continuous fire has been poured upon different parts of our line throughout the day, without much effect, other than some annoyance to us and some relief, perhaps, to the feelings of the enemy.

17" March. For the last five days, a severe Norther, accompanied by rain has been blowing with little interruption. Last night it subsided. During its continuance, no communication could be had with our shipping in consequence of the fury of the sea breaking on the coast. It has, therefore, been impossible for us to land our guns, mortars, ammunition, and materials of war, and our offensive operations, in consequence, have been much retarded. To-day, we have landed some cannon and mortars, and the batteries will soon be established. We hope then to return the compliment of the many balls we have received. The enemy made several attempts to break thro our lines last night, in order to get into the town; but they succeeded in none of these.

18" March. All quiet last night, and to-day. Slow progress has been made in getting our artillery ashore. Every one is impatient at the delay in establishing our batteries. Here we are lying day after day in the sand, under the midday sun, and the heavy, chilling dews of night, without anything to shelter us, with but little of the hardest kind of food. Of course, there is some grumbling, and to be sure it is a pretty hard business, the necessity of which is admitted with reluctance. It will be singular if many of us do not get sick.

19" March. To-day is the festival of Saint Joseph.⁵ Now I

⁵ Saint Joseph, the husband of Mary. Feast of Pius IX. in 1871 proclaimed St. Joseph Patron of the whole Church as follows: 'Our most Holy Lord, Pius IX., Pope, moved by the recent deplorable events, was pleased to comply with the desires of the Prelates, and to commit to the most powerful patronage of the Holy Patriarch, Joseph, both himself and all the faithful, and solemnly declared him Patron of the Catholic Church, and commanded his festival, occurring on the 19th day of March, to be celebrated for the future as a double of the first class, but without an octave, on account of Lent.' *Dictionary of the Bible, James Hastings Ed.*

presume this canonized gentleman was a kind peaceful, man-loving man, and although canonized, no lover of cannon. Yet these God-forsaken Mexicans have to-day acted as though nothing could be more acceptable to him than a human sacrifice. Since about ten o'clock this morning, they have kept up a continual roar of heavy gun, throwing their balls at us, and have absolutely done their best to prevent us from constructing batteries, for the purpose of blowing down their houses about the ears of their wives and children. They gave us no rest until darkness closed the scene. They must indeed be heathen!

20th March. A few days ago a French Bark came down the Gulf, under a full press of sail, in a pretty stiff "Norther", and thus favored succeeded in running the blockade of the port of Vera Cruz. The Frenchmen, thinking no doubt he was in a bad predicament, if our forces should succeed in capturing the city, attempted this evening about five o'clock to take advantage of a favorable breeze to effect his escape. But no sooner did he put out to sea than one of our small naval steamers ("Hunter") gave him chase. The Frenchman did his best to get away, but was soon overtaken and after receiving a few shots across his bows, he hove to, and suffered himself to be captured.

22nd March. A furious "Norther" yesterday. The enemy has kept up a slow firing. Some of our batteries being in position and ready for action General Scott summoned the city to surrender. The Governor General in command replied in a courteous manner, that he had been entrusted with the defense of the town and castle, and had been furnished with the necessary means to do it; and that he was prepared to make use of those means as long as he was able. On receiving this reply, one of our batteries composed of seven heavy mortars opened a fire on the city. It was about six o'clock in the evening. The shells seem to have done great execution. The crashing, rumbling report which they make as they fall through the roofs of the buildings, bursting and scattering death and destruction around is truly terrible. The screams and yells of the populace, whether in defiance or fear could be distinctly heard, and now while I write do I hear them. This evening Captain Vinton, Third Regiment, U. S. Artillery, was killed in the trenches by a shell thrown from the enemy's battery.

23 March. A smart firing has been kept up during the night past and continued through the day on both sides. This morn-

ing three of our companies were detailed for service in the trenches. We left our camp in the evening and marched around to the other side of the line of investment, about six miles to General Worth's position, where the trenches are opened. A furious "Norther" has been blowing all the afternoon and the air is filled with clouds of piercing fine sand My hair, beard, and the pores of my skin are filled with it, causing no little suffering. 24" March. As soon as it was dark enough last evening to screen us from the enemy's batteries we took up our position in the trenches. The trenches are within range of the Mexican guns, and it is necessary to approach them after dark to avoid the direct fire from the batteries concentrated upon that part of our line. Throughout the whole of last night we have been working hard to establish a battery of four 24 pounders and two 8 inch howitzers, but have not got it ready for action yet. It will talk loud when it does open its mouth. The "Norther" spoken of last night still continues. A heavy battery, occupying a position some distance from the left of our trenches, composed of guns taken from the shipping, and served by sailors and marines, opened for the first time this afternoon. It is under the command of naval officers. As soon as it began firing all the guns of the town that could be brought to bear, were turned upon it. For an hour or two the firing on both sides was brisk and effective. I thought our sailors served their guns with more spirit than skill, still they did good execution on our side; midshipman Shubrick, and a number of sailors were killed. The loss on the part of the enemy is not known but two of their batteries were silenced, and a part of the town very much riddled and battered. We have had a constant cannonading directed upon us all day, but being protected by the embankment of the trenches we have suffered but little. One or two of our men have been killed and several wounded.

25" March. We left the trenches shortly after dark last night and arrived at our camp about midnight, completely exhausted after having been on a tour of severe duty for more than forty hours.

To-day we received intelligence that there is a force of about two thousand Mexicans in our rear, in the direction of Medelen. Colonel Harney of the Second Regiment Dragoons was sent out with a small force of cavalry to reconnoitre, and if expedient to attack them. He found them posted for a fight at the stone

bridge of Moreno. The bridge being fortified, Harney sent back to camp for some artillery. Lieutenant Judd of the Third Artillery was sent to his assistance. It did not take long to demolish the enemy's barricades, and he was soon after driven from his position and pursued to the village of Madeline, about six miles from the bridge. Our loss in this skirmish was small, that of the enemy much more considerable. There has been other skirmishing along our line, through the day, which has annoyed us some, but caused little damage. The cannonading from the town, and castle has been going on in the meantime.

26" March. This morning there was a spirited cannonading on both sides. It did not last long, however, and since it ceased all has been quiet. Terms of capitulation are said to have been offered. My camp is so far from Headquarters, General Scott being on the other side of the city—we only get this news as rumor. White flags have been passing to and from the city during the day. It is thought that unless the place surrenders soon it will be taken by storm. If this takes place it will be attended with great destruction of life.

27" March. All is quiet to-day. Negotiations are still pending.

Evening. Terms of capitulation have been agreed on; the Bravos Mexicanos have surrendered into our hands the city of Vera Cruz and the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa.

From the disembarkation of our troops up to this hour, General Scott has conducted the siege with that patience, energy, and skill which all expected from so great a general. Almost insurmountable obstacles have opposed us, not among the least of which may be reckoned the hostile elements, wind and storms of sand. This for several days, at the opening of the siege, prevented our landing our stores and munitions of war, which caused delays in our offensive operations, and caused some to complain of inefficiency in the commanding General; but with equal patience he overcame the obstacles and endured the murmurings.

28" March. To-day has been given to the enemy to make their arrangements preparatory to evacuating the city. No American is permitted to enter until this is done. To-morrow morning at ten o'clock the Mexicans march out and lay down their arms.

29" March. At ten o'clock this morning the "Magnanimous" nation marched out of their bulwarks—four or five thousand of them and laid down their arms in the presence of our army.

It was all done in order and quietness, and especial care was observed that nothing should be done to wound the feelings of the vanquished. They were permitted to go where they pleased—on parole. In the name of cannon-balls, what does parole mean among such people! It will have no more force with them than a promise never to eat anything again would have. Yet go they must, for it is impossible for us to keep them prisoners of war, and they may as well go on parole as without. Many of them, no doubt, are country people, caught up by the authorities, and forced into service. Such will return to their homes, thanking us for their release from a cruel service.

Immediately, after their departure the stars and stripes threw out their folds over the captured forts and the far-famed castle, and looked only the more impudently inspiring, as being half concealed by the rising smoke of five hundred cannon belching harmless thunder in honor of our victory.

8th April. Since my last date nothing has occurred in my vicinity and experience, worthy of particular report. Until this morning we remained at our old camp among the sand hills occasionally going into the city to get a good dinner, or other creature comfort. The usual amount of grumbling and good-humor has prevailed, and our mess has gradually improved, to effect which, I hold to be the true test of a good campaigner. During the siege we have been compelled to live very scanty, and on coarse food. Sometimes we scarcely had anything to eat. I disembarked on the ninth day of March with four days rations in my haversack, consisting of sea biscuit, and boiled beef. From that time till the close of the siege on the twenty-ninth we were compelled to live almost entirely on the Mexican cattle which we found wandering among the hills and woods in the neighborhood of our camp, and they were poor miserable things; but such as they were we appropriated as many of them as were necessary for the subsistence of our troops. This scarcity of food was owing in a great measure to the violent storms which prevented us from communicating with our shipping and landing our stores, and the position too which our division occupied in the investment, had something to do with it; for, we were so far from the place where the supplies were finally landed that no time could be spared to transport them to us. I fared as poorly, indeed suffered a great deal more, for want of protection from the intense heat of the sun, and the chilling dews of

night, for I did not bring anything ashore except the clothing I had on my back, and in consequence, I was under the necessity, much of the time, of sleeping on the ground without anything to cover me. The nights were often, or rather always cold, and I suffered from it. Occasionally, I shared part of the blanket, or overcoat of my more fortunate companion—more fortunate because he had found the blanket which some volunteer, in the heat of the day, had found to be an oppressive incumbrance to carry on his back, and had imprudently thrown it away to lighten the burden. Such is the thoughtlessness of a soldier. The present is all that occupies his thoughts. Two or three days ago, I was able to get my baggage. We then had tents and other luxuries in abundance. Under other circumstances, I should have thought I had endured no little hardship during this siege, but plenty of excitement and good fellowship knocked off the rough edges, blunted the points and gave no time to think of such things.

The city of Vera Cruz does not cover a very large area, but is compactly built, and some of the structures have rather an imposing appearance. Most of the buildings look very ancient. About one half the city was much damaged by the bombardment. Many of the higher classes of inhabitants left it before it was invested, and when they return and witness the ruin spread around their shattered dwellings, they will no doubt, be thankful they were not at home.

The shells, falling on the tops of the houses, crashed through the roofs into the interior, and then exploding produced the most frightful and terrific effects. The thunder of these explosions was truly awful at the distance of a mile from the scene. There must have been the most horrible suffering and dismay among the women and children.

I doubt whether a city, after being well invested, and having no reasonable prospect of successful defense from within, or aid from without, should refuse to surrender when summoned to that effect. The high perfection to which the science of war has attained in this age has very much simplified a decision in such a case, and it seems only a consideration of the relative value of human life, and human glory, the latter being a very ambiguous commodity, when it wears a feather in its cap, according to my experience.

The castle of San Juan de Ulloa may well sustain the reputa-

tion for strength which it has so long enjoyed as a military fortification. I think it must be considered impregnable to naval attacks even in this day of scientific warfare. It is a complicated and very curious structure, and well repays a visit. It is built on a coral reef in the harbor, and stands about five hundred yards from the city. Both city and castle when they fell into our hands were in the most filthy condition it is possible to conceive.

A rigid police has been organized, which will, if efficiently carried out, remove the exciting causes to disease before the most unhealthy part of the season begins, and it is to be sincerely hoped will tend to abate the violence of the Black Death vomite which rages here so fearfully.

We broke up our camp among the sand hills this morning, about nine o'clock, and commenced our march into the interior in the direction of Jalapa. We have marched today about thirteen miles. Our division, Twigg's thus leads off towards the capital which we design to capture, if we can as it is necessary to terminate the war. The remainder of the army is still in camp in Vera Cruz. It will follow us in divisions, one day separating each. Our route today has been over a very sandy road, worn deep into the earth, in many places three or four feet, thus enclosing us between sand walls. The sun poured down upon us with a boiling heat, not a breath of air stirring, or a single leaf or twig to shade our burning heads. Some of our men have dropped down by the roadside, and died a few minutes after from the effects of the heat. Once or twice, during the day, the veins in my head became much swollen, my eyes dim, and I felt a sensation of dizziness, all indicating a strong tendency to congestion of the brain.

At least four-fifths of the entire Division have been left on the roadside, overcome by the excessive heat. They will probably revive, and come on and join us in camp, sometime during the night. By an exercise of the greatest fortitude I succeeded in keeping up with the head of the column and arrived in camp with the first. But I no sooner reached here, than I fell upon the ground and lay there for an hour or more, without the power of raising an arm. We arrived here late in the afternoon. There are officers with us who have been with the army in all the long and arduous marches it has made, both in this country, and among the swamps and everglades of Florida, yet they all with

one accord say they have never endured such suffering on a march as they have experienced to-day.

It has resulted from this that the general at the head of the column and all the superior officers are mounted on horses, and consequently they, who regulate the rate of marching, and the restings, did not appreciate the heaviness of the sand, boiling hot, over which we were passing nor the rapidity of the pace we were required to keep. Again, it should have been remembered that it was the first day's march after having been for a long time quiet in camp at Vera Cruz, and that this first day is always the hardest to get through with. It requires two or three days at marching to bring soldiers in a good trim for it. After that they may be sometimes crowded, and compelled to make forced marches, without wearing them down much.

Of the appearance of the country all may be said in a few words. It is sandy, and barren, and shows but little evidence of cultivation. It is covered mostly, so far as I could see, from the highroad, with a kind of wild grass, and clumps of chaparral were here and there seen. There are very few ranches, or dwellings along the roadside, and what there are of the poorest kind. The chief productions of this part of the country, however, if I may judge from the appearances about our camp is the wood-tick in every variety, and this affords me a very delightful prospect in the way of sleep to-night, for I must make my bed with them. There is scarcely any place, however, so bad you cannot find some comfort about it, and I found it here in a delightful bath, in a stream that runs near by, to which I was able to drag myself after recovering a little from my exhaustion.

9 April. Camp at Puente de los Vigas. Marched today about eleven miles over an excellent road. The heat has not been quite so oppressive as it was yesterday, and a few of our men have in consequence been left behind on the road. The country has somewhat improved in appearance and shows more signs of cultivation. We have passed but few dwellings, though some large haciendas could be seen at a distance in the country. We are encamped by another stream, which has afforded me the luxury of another bath, and truly it is a luxury, that one cannot comprehend who has not enjoyed it under such circumstances.

General Scott's means for transporting his army into the interior was so limited, that we were compelled before leaving

Vera Cruz to reduce our baggage to the least possible limit. For beds, therefore we have but a blanket or two apiece, and my wardrobe consists of what is on my back, and a change of underwear stowed away in a small basket. This must answer until we conquer our way into some town, where we can replenish our supplies and await in a more healthy locality than the one we are leaving behind for the arrival of more transportation.

Our march is in the direction of Jalapa, a little more than sixty miles distant from Vera Cruz. We have no certain tidings of the enemy, but rumor says he will ere long present himself in our way. It is thought not, however, before we reach the Puente National, or National Bridge, or Puente del Rio, Bridge of the King, as it was formerly called.

10 April. After an easy march of six miles, we arrived today at the Puente National. There was no enemy to be seen, yet there are indications that the Mexicans intended to make a stand here, and oppose our progress. Ditches have been recently dug across the road, first over several arches of the bridge, and then partly filled up, indicating a change of plan on the part of the enemy.

Our camp, tonight, is in an open field, found on crossing the Bridges for there are two of them, but so near to, and connected with each other as to have the name, and appearance of but one. Nearly opposite our camp, on an eminence to the left of the road is to be seen a fine Hacienda, or farm belonging to General Santa Anna. The scenery along our route today has been beautiful, and the country generally has presented an improved appearance.

11 April. Camp at Pian del Rio, We have marched fifteen miles today. This is the entrance to a strong mountain pass. On our arrival here the enemy was reported to be in force two or three miles in advance, and prepared to dispute our further progress. A small cavalry force was immediately despatched for the purpose of reconnoitring his position. It soon returned and reported that the Mexicans were occupying the pass of Cerro Gordo, strength unknown. We shall give ourselves no more trouble about them tonight, but will wake them up early tomorrow morning.

12 April. This morning our Division advanced towards the pass of Cerro Gordo with the view of making a more satisfactory inspection of the enemy's position, strength etc., and if prac-

ticable, brush him away, and continue our march. But we found on a near approach to the line of fortifications that the Mexican force was twelve, or fifteen thousand, and strongly posted behind almost impregnable natural and artificial fortifications. The comparative smallness of our own numbers, there being about two thousand, five hundred of us, and these advantages on the part of the enemy, determined General Twiggs to move back to his original position at Plan del Rio, and there await the arrival of the other division of the Army under Generals Worth, Patterson, and Pillow. One of these divisions will probably join us this evening. No sooner had we made our appearance before the Mexican lines this morning than they opened a spirited fire upon us from their batteries, but without serious effect.

April 13. General Patterson arrived last night with his division of Volunteers. The enemy's position proving so much stronger than was anticipated, most of the day has been spent in reconnoitering it. No active measures have yet been taken.

April 14. It was generally expected that an attack would be made on the enemy to-day, but General Patterson of the Militia, being the senior officer present with our forces, seems to decline the responsibility of a general engagement, and in consequence we have been laying on our arms all day awaiting the arrival of General Scott. He has just arrived with General Pillow's division. Two or three prisoners, and one deserter from the Mexicans have been taken to-day. We are all anxious to have the contest come off.

April 15. We have remained quietly in our camp to-day. General Worth's division was expected to join us to-day, but has not arrived. The enemy has been more on the alert than heretofore.

April 16. Still in camp at Plan del Rio. Nothing of consequence transpired to-day. Small parties have been out reconnoitering the enemy's position. It is very strong. General Worth's division joined us after dark this evening. All of Scott's Army is now concentrated at this point.

April 17. At seven o'clock this morning our division was put in motion to gain a position opposite the left flank of the enemy's line, which was accomplished, but not until a part of the division became engaged with the advanced posts of the Mexicans.

April 18. At an early hour this morning the battle of "Cerro Gordo" began. General Twiggs's division commenced the action by attacking the left flank of the enemy's line, with a vim, to turn it, and if practicable gain his rear. This was only partially accomplished when the post of the Mexican line gave way and the advantages thus gained were pressed with great vigor until a general breaking up of the whole line ensued. Owing to the character of the ground the severest fighting was mostly for positions, for the small hills surrounding the high hill called "Cerro Gordo." The latter commanded nearly the entire field of action, and was evidently relied on by the Mexicans as the decisive point in their line of fortifications. The way being cleared to it, however, our soldiers seemed to vie with each other in seeing who should be first on the summit of Cerro Gordo. They rushed up its rough sides under a galling fire, but still they pressed on gallantly. The Mexicans stood their ground well, and it was not until driven from their position at the point of the bayonet that many of them left it. While this attack on the hill was going on, General Shields was ordered to turn the left flank of the enemy's line, and cut off the retreat. His Brigade was composed of the New York volunteers and the 3rd and 4th Regiments of Illinois volunteers. In this service General Shields was very severely wounded by a grape shot passing through his side.

The enemy's left having given way, the rest of the line soon followed, except the extreme right. This was strongly fortified, and had successfully resisted two attacks by the Pennsylvania and Tennessee volunteers commanded by General Pillow. But soon being surrounded by our forces and deserted by their own, they were surrendered by their commander, Gil La Vega, one of the best of the Mexican generals, the same who fought so well at Resaca de la Palma against General Taylor's army, and who was captured there also, and sent a prisoner of war to New Orleans. General Worth's division came up during the action to-day, but took no part in it.

Our loss, considering the obstinacy of the contest, has not been very great. That of the enemy is considerably greater than ours. In this fight we did not have more than three thousand men actually engaged at any one time. The nature of the ground was such as not to admit of a larger force being brought

into action. The Mexican army was computed at fifteen to eighteen thousand.

The pass of Cerro Gordo is about fifteen miles from Jalapa. It was toward this town that the enemy retreated. We pursued them within three or four miles of the town. We are encamped to-night at "Encerro" a beautiful Hacienda belonging to Santa Anna. It is seven miles from Jalapa.

April 19. It is as serene and everything as quiet to-day as though the fierce conflict of yesterday had never occurred. Grief for those of our friends whom we left dead on the field seems to be suppressed by the gratitude which all feel for their own preservation. Armies soon recover from the moral effects of battle, so far as those effects are visible in their external character.

We broke up our camp at Encerro this morning at seven o'clock, and are to-night in Jalappa.⁶ We arrived here about two o'clock this afternoon. As we entered the town the inhabitants collected in large numbers along the roadsides to get their first view of the terrible Yankees, of whom, however, they gave no indication of being afraid.

To-day, for the first time since leaving Vera Cruz, the country has presented a rich and fertile appearance. It is pretty well cultivated and the vegetation looks green and healthy. In, and around Jalapa everything is beautiful—really wonderfully beautiful! There can be no other place on earth more nearly approaching Paradise. The trees, the plants, the shrubs, the air, the sun, all enchant me.

April 20. No excitement to be discovered in any quarter to-day. We have been looking about the town to spy out all that is new or interesting, and trying to make ourselves as comfortable as possible, for it is not known how long we may be compelled to stop here. The inhabitants seem disposed to be civil. I should think the population of the town was not far from five hundred.

I don't like this rheumatism that has tortured me for so long a time since my exposure at the siege of Vera Cruz. I hope it will leave me after a time.

April 21. General Worth's division came up to-day, and, passing through the town without stopping, continued on to

⁶ After the defeat of Santa Anna at Cerro Gordo, April 19, General Scott constituted Jalapa a depot for supplies.

occupy Perote. Worth was rather thrown in the rear at Cerro Gordo, but he seems resolved to go ahead now. He probably will not find any opposition to his march on Perote, or his seizure of the castle situated near that place, and so famous in the annals of Mexican revolutions.

April 22. All quiet in town to-day. We have no tidings of the remnants of the Mexican Army dispersed at Cerro Gordo.

Since our arrival here I have, until to-day, been living in my tent pitched in the Plaza, or Public Square, but to-day we have located ourselves in a vacant house, and find it very comfortable quarters.

May 20. Our division (Twiggs's) is still occupying Jalapa. Time rolls on very quietly and pleasantly. General Worth has continued to advance his division and is said to be now occupying Puebla. Nothing worthy of particular notice relating to the operations of the Army has occurred since my previous date. General Worth met with no opposition from the Castle of Perote. It was surrendered into his hands as soon as he presented himself before it. At the town of Amazoque, ten miles this side of Puebla he came near being surprised by a body of about one thousand cavalry under the command of Santa Anna, who had been laying in wait for him. Fortunately, however, he managed to extricate himself from his danger without any loss. He continued on to Puebla and took possession of that city without any opposition. For the past month Jalapa has been full of rumors—sometimes favorable to a speedy termination of hostilities, and the next hour indicating war to the knife. We have learned a little of Santa Anna's movements since his defeat at Cerro Gordo. From that field he fled to Orizaba almost alone. There he succeeded in gathering around him a force of three or four thousand men, consisting in part of the fugitives of his Cerro Gordo Army, and in part raised in the neighborhood of Orizaba. With this small army, it is said, he has again placed himself in our front, and is now fortifying a pass between the city of Puebla and the City of Mexico. It is the Pass of Rio Frio (cold river) and is fifteen leagues from Puebla.

I am inclined to think we will have no more fighting, though I confess it is almost idle to form opinions relating to the probable course of Mexican policy in the government of this wretched country.

I fear my recollections of Jalapa, beautiful as the place is in

all that nature could do, will be anything but pleasant and agreeable.

Nearly all the time from my arrival here to the present moment, I have been confined to my room and some of the time to my bed. Having contracted, or rather having had a return of my old enemy—the *rheumatism*, owing to great exposure at the Siege of Vera Cruz, and on the route to this place, I suffered severely in consequence. The comfortable quarters in which I am now living had nearly restored me when I was most severely attacked by the jaundice from which I am now just beginning to recover a little. I am still very much prostrated by the effects of it, and greatly reduced in flesh. I hope soon to regain my health and strength. The jaundice is quite prevalent among us. I have heard of several cases.

May 22. At three o'clock to-day Twiggs started with his division en route for Puebla. This leaves Colonel Childs here as the military governor of Jalapa. His force is composed of the 1st Regiment of United States Artillery, the 1st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, and three companies of the 2nd Regiment of that State.

Being unable to march with my Regiment on account of my recent illness I have been left behind to regain strength and vigor, and rejoin my company when I am able.

I changed my quarters to-day, and am now living with Lieutenant Frank Thomas, of the 3rd Reg. U. S. Arty., who has also been left behind a convalescent invalid. We are the sole occupants of the large, empty, old house, without any other furniture in it than our little cot-beds standing in adjacent corners of one of the largest rooms. Our only attendant and servant is a sick soldier. He cooks for us and attends to our room—all of which is no great task, as we eat but little and have nothing in our room to attend to. If one is sick on a campaign he must take care of himself the best way he can, for others have but little time to look after him.

May 28. and another day has gone, carrying its events of joy, sorrow, hopes, fears, gratified wishes, bitter disappointments, etc., etc., etc., on its silent, irresistible, ever-advancing, mysterious course, and emptied them—where? I will retain none of them. Let them float on, and mingle with the spoils of time.—What is *time*?

June 6. Orders received to-day from General Scott direct-

ing Colonel Childs to break up his garrison at this place as soon as practicable, and move forward to join the main army in Puebla. The general hospital which has thus far been located here is to be removed to Perote. I hope it will be practicable to take up our line of march soon, for this Jalapa is getting to be a dull enough place for me. Since I have been so far recovered from my sickness as to be able to walk out, I have had nothing to do but walk about the town seeking to make the hours pass away as pleasantly as circumstances would permit by gazing at everything I could find that was novel and curious. It would be much pleasanter for me if I could speak the language of these people for I could then doubtless find society enough. I have hardly command enough of the Spanish dialect, as yet, to make my simplest ideas understood by the people. I think, however, I am learning to speak it better every day.

To be well and strong, and with my regiment again is my strongest desire.

June 8. Captain Bainbridge 4th Arty. arrived here to-day from Perote where he was left behind the regiment sick. He goes to Fort Monroe, Va. under orders. A train arrived from Puebla.

June 10. We are making arrangements to move on to Puebla as soon as possible, and in consequence the inhabitants of Jalapa are in a state of uneasiness and alarm. They say the surrounding country is infested with robbers and guerilla bands, and that as soon as we remove our protection from the town they will rush in and rob, pillage, and murder the inhabitants. This is a fine state of things truly, when these people must call on a foreign invading army to protect them against their own country-men. It is a fact well-known to us, however, that some of the citizens of Jalapa have been in the practice of furnishing these outlaws, and legal assassins with powder, and lead to assist them in carrying out their depredations against us; and they must now justly suffer themselves the murders and robberies, that they are no longer able to direct against those who have heretofore given them protection. I have but little sympathy for these people, for they are not patriotic enough to defend their country, nor generous and manly enough to act uprightly towards those who—in conquering them—protect and preserve to them the free enjoyment of all their rights, to an extent never enjoyed under their own government. What a

wrong and unnatural thing it is that this beautiful country should be possessed by such a worthless, idle, vicious, mongrel race.

June 15. Since our arrival here on the 19th of April I do not perceive any decided change in the temperature of the weather. The sun is perhaps a little hotter during the morning from eight to twelve o'clock. Almost every day about noon it clouds over and in the afternoon we have a smart shower after which it soon clears up again. It is a most delightful climate.

June 16. General Cadwallader arrived here with re-enforcement of infantry and cavalry from Vera Cruz, en route for Puebla to join the main army. He brought a large train of supplies with him. He was much annoyed, and delayed on his route by guerilla parties, which succeeded in killing and wounding a good many of his men, and forced him to destroy a part of his train of wagon to keep them from being captured. This train left Vera Cruz on the 4th inst. Colonel McIntosh came with it on his way to join his regiment after having recovered from the terrible wounds he received at the battle of Rezaca de la Palma.

June 18. This morning we broke up our garrison at Jalapa, and are now on our way to join the main army at Puebla. Our force is about twenty five hundred strong—comprised of all the odds and ends of all the regiments and corps in the service—the whole in a state of great confusion and disorganization as must necessarily be the case when such a crowd of raw recruits and militia are huddled together, and commanded by officers like a majority of those we have with us, appointed from civil life and consequently most dangerously ignorant of their duties.

Our command, or Division, as it is called, is divided into two Brigades under the command of General Cadwallader, a very good Chestnut street soldier from the city of Philadelphia. For any other purpose than parading on Chestnut street he is absolutely good for nothing. The 1st Brigade is under Colonel McIntosh of the 5th Reg. Infantry. He is no holiday soldier. He is the gallant old officer who was so furiously assailed by a party of Mexican soldiers at the battle of Resaca de la Palma. They rushed on to him with their bayonets, three of which passed through his body—one through his arm, one through his thigh, and the other entering his mouth came out at the back of his neck. I have just been talking with the old Colonel about

it, and could hardly believe it possible he could have escaped death from such wounds, but so it is, for they are before my eyes hardly yet entirely healed.

The 2nd Brigade is commanded by Colonel Childs, 1st Reg. Arty. We marched to-day only four miles,—more for the purpose of organizing and arranging the large train of wagons we have with us, than for making a day's march. We have in the train between six and seven hundred wagons heavily loaded with provisions, ammunition, and baggage. When stretched out along the road they extend over a distance of about five miles. Of course such a train is very difficult to protect at all points from the attacks of guerillas, and scouting parties of the enemy.

June 19. Marched fourteen miles to-day through as beautiful country as there is in the world. In every direction as far as the eye can reach is seen the most luxuriant vegetation. About three o'clock this afternoon we passed the village of San Miguel which we found entirely deserted, some of the inhabitants having been frightened away by our approach, and others, no doubt, having fled to the mountains to aid the Guerillas in their efforts to annoy our progress, and hope to come in for their share of the expected plunder. We think they will earn it before they get it. Some small parties of the enemy were seen to-day hovering around us on the tops of neighboring hills. Our elevation has now become so great we are actually among the clouds, which rising from the Gulf of Mexico are here dashed against the mountain sides. During the latter part of our march to-day we were immersed in a vapor bath. The heavy dense clouds sweeping along and rolling up the mountains, permitted only a glimpse, now and then, of the country below us. We reached camp about dusk in the midst of a heavy shower of rain. Owing to the luxuriance of the country, the magnificence of the scenery, and the novelty of our position, this day's march has been of great interest to me.

20 June. The greatest opposition to our march today was made at the pass of La Haya which the Mexicans had spent much time in fortifying, but which was afterwards abandoned without trying to defend it. It is capable of being strongly fortified. We attained our greatest altitude in crossing the Sierra Madre today, near the village of Las Vigas. During our march we were frequently enveloped in clouds of vapor as they swept by us. It is useless to attempt any description of the

scenery. How surpassingly beautiful, and at times grand and magnificent beyond all the powers of description to express! We reached our camp at an unusually late hour, eight oclock in the evening, in a heavy rain and darkness, benumbed with cold and fatigued by the cares and labors of the day. Before leaving Jalapa, Colonel McIntosh appointed me to act on his staff as Assistant Adjutant General, and the duties of this position threw much more duty and responsibility upon me than I otherwise would have had. Indeed, I was but an attaché, not properly on duty with this command, but simply going on with it to join my own regiment which was in Puebla. My services, however, were needed, and I accepted the Colonel's appointment. 21 June. Marched seven miles today, which brought us to our present encampment under the walls of the far renowned Castle of Perote. On our route today the country has not been fertile and well cultivated, as on our preceding progress, still it was interesting in its appearance presenting many picturesque views, and some very extensive and beautiful landscapes.

The Castle of Perote is situated near the south eastern side of an extensive and perfectly level plain, which is surrounded on all sides by mountains, the most remarkable of which are the Caffre de Perote and Pizarro's mountain. The peaks of the former are seen from Vera Cruz a distance of ninety seven miles.

The Castle is a large four bastioned fort, with small towers surmounting each of the salients. Its interior buildings and arrangements seem to have been constructed for the purposes of prisons and storage of supplies. It is surrounded by a deep ditch, with a counterscarp of cut masonry, which may, it is said, be filled with water to the depth of six or eight feet, by means of subterranean aqueducts. I do not think this can be so, since there is no apparent source for the amount of water such an operation would require. It is now perfectly dry. It is no doubt capable of making an obstinate resistance. Considering the position and construction of this work it is difficult to conceive what object the Spanish government had in view in building it. It has, I believe, heretofore been used chiefly for a National State Prison, and for that purpose it is very much needed under the present state of things in Mexico.

The town of Perote is about a mile from the Castle, and is one of the most dreary, desolate looking places on the face of

the earth. In passing through the dirty streets the eye rests upon little else than old dilapidated walls, with here and there a passage way through them. Behind these walls sneak the inhabitants of the town, snakey and unsociable in their appearance, and each one looking as though nothing but an opportunity was waiting for him to cut your throat or thrust a dagger into your back.

The winds here are constantly blowing, are always cold, and the dust fills the air and your eyes. I do not believe a more uncomfortable place could be found. . . . Fruits and vegetables are scarce. The Meguey or Pulque plant (century plant of our climate), used for many purposes by the Mexicans, first begins to make its appearance here.

The women look like old, ugly, withered hags, but in this country as in all others, some of the most admirable virtues and qualities of our kind are found among them. It is not unusual to find them faithful, benevolent, and affectionate, and in their estimation never sufficiently so towards the sick and unfortunate. As Providence designed women for the practice of such virtues among his creatures, it would be singular indeed, if they were not called into active exercise here, for, in no part of his creation can such services be more needed than in this wretched country.

22 June. . . Still in camp in Perote. Tomorrow morning we hope to take up our march again for Pueblo. It is rumored that there is a division of two or three thousand cavalry between here and there waiting for us, and that they have with them a battery of field artillery. They are lying in wait, it is said, to attack our train, which is well understood to be loaded with very necessary supplies for the Army. If they attack it vigorously, and with ordinary skill, it is possible they may succeed in doing us a great deal of damage, since our entire command, with the exception of a few individuals among the officers is made up of perfect raw recruits. This together with the encumbrance of a train four or five miles long may cause us some disaster.

23 June. . . This morning received information that our forward march would be delayed until General Pillow, who is reported to be at Jalapa with re-enforcements, comes up. This will probably delay us here for some days. My time is so much occupied in aiding Colonel McIntosh to organize this mob of recruits that I am unable to look about the place as much as I

wish to do. The weather continues dry, cold, windy, and dusty, and is very disagreeable.

24 June. . Still in camp, trying to drill into some kind of discipline this mustang command. A more heterogeneous, undisciplined compound of material called soldiers, I am sure never before was brought together in any Army. As the majority of the officers are more ignorant and difficult to instruct in their duties than the privates. When applying for their commission they could have had but a small idea of the duties they would be called upon to perform, and they certainly have not tried very hard to learn much about them since. They seem to have just found out that there is something to do on a campaign in an enemy's country besides playing gentlemen. It requires an immense deal of patience to manufacture an army out of militia.

28 June. . . Colonel Child's Brigade left here this morning for the purpose of establishing a camp at Tepeyahualco, an advance past eighteen miles from this. This movement was rendered necessary by reason of the scarcity of forage at this place. He is to remain at that place until we come up and join him. We are still waiting for General Pillow's re-enforcements.

29 June. . . . Captain Whipple of the 5th Regiment U. S. Infantry attached to our command died last night. We buried him with military honors today in one of the salients of the Castle. Many of our men are sick, and many more will be unless we leave here soon. It is a very unhealthy place.

1 July. . . General Pillow arrived here today from Vera Cruz with 2500 troops. He met with very little opposition on the way. His division is tolerably healthy, and a pretty good looking body of men.

2 July. General Pillow has consolidated his command with General Cadwalader's, and reorganized the whole division. Colonel McIntosh thinks injustice has been done to him, by not giving him a command proportionate to his rank. He remonstrates with Pillow and requests either to have justice done him, or to be released from all command in the Division. Pillow refuses the former, and grants the latter. This releases me from my position as an Assistant Adjutant General to McIntosh, and for the rest of the way to Puebla, our destination, the old Colonel and myself will travel with this army as attachés. No one can feel more rejoiced at this than I do, for it relieves me from all duty, while I am yet too feeble for hard service.

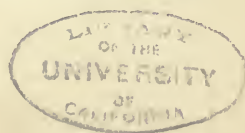
3 July. Camp at Tepeyahualco eighteen miles from Perote, which place we left this morning on our homeward march for Puebla. The general appearance of the country is barren, the growth of timber is small, and water is scarce. The country continues level; with here and there a huge mountain, which seems to have been elevated from the plain by some great interior force. Between these, views are sometimes to be caught of a soft, and fertile valley winding around the mountains until lost to sight.

4 July. . . . Starting at daylight this morning we marched twelve miles, and encamped at Ojo del Agua for the night. This is a small, dirty Indian village. Its name signifies "eye of water," thus named I suppose because of a spring which here gives rise to two small streams running in different directions. The country has pretty much the same appearance as that traveled over yesterday. This day being the anniversary of the declaration of independence, I can think of no better way, under present circumstances, of celebrating it, than by eating as good a supper as I can get, and then going to bed and sleeping as well as I can.

5 July. . . . Made a short march of seven or eight miles over a broken country. The water scarce and bad.

6 July. . . Leaving camp at an early hour this morning, we marched twelve or fourteen miles over a beautiful country, in a much higher state of cultivation than any I have seen before in this country. The principal productions are corn, barley, and beans. As we were approaching the Pass of El Peñal, a body of cavalry was discovered on our right flank, occupying a large field; their force concealed by an elevation of ground. Captain Blake, with a squadron of 150 dragoons, was sent out to reconnoitre. He discovered that the body was seven or eight hundred strong. It moved off as he approached, towards a considerable town some three or four miles distant. Our cavalry force being too small to pursue, and the ground being impracticable, or difficult for any other kind of force, we continued our march after capturing one or two prisoners. This was probably the body, it was rumored when we left Perote, would oppose our march. The prisoners that we took said it was their intention to attack our train. We are encamped for the night at El Penal.

7 July. . . . Starting at Sunrise, a march of twelve miles brought



us to the town of Amezoque. When we arrived here, we learned from General Smith whom we found here with his brigade, that General Scott had been informed that we had been attacked, and were surrounded by the enemy and needed assistance. On learning this it seemed Scott sent Smith to our assistance. We encamp tonight in Amezoque. This town is celebrated for the quantity, and quality of spurs, and bridle bits that are made here. In its appearance it is a dilapidated place—everything going to decay. It is ten miles from Puebla. The surrounding country is rich in soil and tolerably well cultivated. On our march today we passed through the town of Noplalucan, famous for making the best bread in the Republic. Judging from the specimen I saw it well deserves the reputation it has, for I never saw more beautiful bread in my life. In my own country I never saw anything that could nearly equal it.

8 July. . . This morning we entered Puebla, having been six days in marching from Perote to this place. On my arrival here my first care was to find where the old 4th was quartered, which would be, of course, my home.

17 JULY. A wish having been expressed by several officers, to visit the renowned pyramid of Cholula, the general gave his permission that the 4th Artillery might accompany those who wished to gratify their curiosity by a visit to this ancient ruin. We left town about seven o'clock in the morning; a march of seven miles brought us to the pyramid. It presents very much the appearance of a natural mound in its present condition, having lost the symmetry and regularity which it still shows some indications of having at some time possessed. It is now covered over with a rich vegetation with here and there a few small trees. A gradual slope, or paved camp carries you about half way to the top, and from this point there is a flight of stone steps leading to the summit. The ascent is on the north-western side. There is now standing on the top of the pyramid a small chapel dedicated to the "Virgin of Remedies." This wonderful structure of a people of which we know nothing is built of adobe, or sun dried brick. There is still remaining of it four stories or terraces. It is said that in cutting a road some years since, through the lower terrace, two human skeletons, and some works of art were discovered in a stone chamber which was laid open by the operation. From the chapel on the summit a magnificent view is presented of the perpetually snow crowned

Popocatepetl, and its gigantic rival Ixtaccihuatl, or the "white woman". Near the pyramid are the site and ruins of an ancient, and once populous city of Cholula. It was here that Cortez gave the simple Indians such a terrible, and bloody example of the fate of those who dared to deal treacherously with him.

6 August. . . Tomorrow the army begins its movement for the City of Mexico. Miller's company A, the one to which I have been attached since I joined the army, is designated to remain here as a part of the garrison of this place. By my application I have been transferred to Company C (Ridgley) and will go with the army. This company arrived from Vera Cruz today, in charge of a light battery. Getty came with it.

7 August. . This morning Twiggs' division⁷ left Puebla in the advance for Mexico. This division is composed of the 1st and 4th Artillery 2d, 3d, 7th Infantry, Rifle Regiment Detachment cavalry and Taylor's field battery of Artillery. The country over which we have passed today is level, soil fertile, cultivation tolerable. Encamped to-night at Rio Prieto, 11½ miles from Puebla.

8 August. . . Left our camp at Rio Prieto at five o'clock in the morning and arrived at our present camp, San Martin, at half past eleven A. M., distance today eleven miles. The country still continues level. We have not yet left the plain of Puebla. Soil fertile and presents an appearance of good cultivation. We seemed to have been moving today almost at the base of the snow mountains, although 20 miles distant. Our elevation is so great, and the air, in consequence, so rarefied that distant objects seem to be much nearer than they really are. While we were scorched in the torrid sun, it was somewhat difficult to conceive that the immense white caps of these mountains was really snow. The magnificence of the scene can be understood only by those who have been so fortunate as to witness it. No ordinary exhibitions of the grand and beautiful in nature can much excite the feelings of one who has passed over the national road from Vera Cruz to the capital of Mexico. From the start, it is one continually varying scene of beauty, magnificence, and grandeur. No one has yet attempted, or at least succeeded, in describing the features of nature as they are here presented, and in consequence, they are comparatively but

⁷ See also, *Ripley's War with Mexico*, II, 17-18.

little celebrated. This is my birthday, and I have actually forgotten how old I am.

9 August. . . Camp at Tesmolucas ten miles from San Martin. After leaving the latter place the country becomes more broken, gradually rising as you advance. It is fertile and well cultivated. A wooden fence is seldom to be seen in this country; its place being supplied, either by a ditch, or a row of aloe or maguy plant. This plant makes an enduring and an impenetrable fence, by being planted in rows so close together that the branches and leaves may intertwine. Thus it makes a barricade that neither man nor beast will desire to penetrate. Either a picket of the enemy, or a gang of guerillas was discovered in our front today; they fled on our approach. General Scott joined our division last evening at San Martin. There is a diversity of opinion among us as to whether we will have a fight before we reach the capital. It is possible we may, but not very probable.

10 August. . . Camp at Venta de Cordova, eighteen miles from Tasmoducus. The route today has been over a most excellent road though gradually ascending. The country abounds more in timber than here-to-fore. The growth is principally pine and more abundant than I have seen in any of our previous marches. We found also plenty of fine cool water. Although it is now what is called the rainy season, we have had very favorable weather for marching. There has been some rain but not until the march for the day was finished, and all snugly stowed away in camp. In the middle of the day the sun is hot, but the air is cool and pleasant. The nights are uncomfortably cold. Was up on picket guard all last night, in consequence of a report that was sent into camp by our advance guard that a large body of Mexican Infantry was in our vicinity, with the intention of surprising us. Nothing of the kind was attempted nor did I believe at the time, that the enemy would think of such an enterprise. After marching seven and a half miles, we came to the pass of Rio Frio. It was the intention of the enemy, at one time, to defend this pass. We found their deserted fortifications. It does not seem to me by any means to be as defensible a position as that of Cerro Gordo. Five and a half miles from Rio Frio we crossed the highest point of the range of mountains that divide the plains of Puebla and Tlascala from the valley of Mexico. A few miles beyond this point the valley of Mexico

opens before you. I have no language to portray even in outline its features. Indeed, words have not the power to convey to the mind any conception of it. As Niagara is the pride of waters, so is the valley of Mexico of lands. From the highest point of the range of which I have spoken, the road descends rapidly to the bed of the valley.

11 August. Camp at Ayotta, nine miles from Venta de Cordova, We began our march at nine o'clock this morning. Last night a body of Lancers endeavored to reconnoitre our camp, but were discovered and driven off by our cavalry. General Quitman's divisions left Puebla on the 8th inst. and is now occupying Chalco, a considerable town to the left of the main road as you approach the capital. It is known that the enemy are in force at El Piñon, eight miles in advance of our present position and about eight miles from the capital.

12 August. . . At nine o'clock this morning the 4th Artillery, a section of Taylor's field battery and a squadron of cavalry accompanied Captain's Lee's Engineers to make a reconnoissance of the enemy's position and defenses at El Pinon. This is a hill rising abruptly out of the dry bed of the surrounding lakes to the height of 400 feet. It seems completely to barricade the approach to the city on this side. The waters of the lakes of Chalco and Tuzcuco extend near to its base on the north and south. Our approach to the city was on the east. What may be behind the mountains on the west I am, of course, unable to say. It seems to be a very strong position and is well fortified. It will not be taken without a great loss on our part. General North's division left Puebla on the 9th inst. and arrived in Chalco today where he is encamped.

13 August. . Pillow's division left Puebla on the 10th inst. and arrived at Chalco today where he has established his camp. Smith's brigade (Briggs's division) went to El Pinan in support of a reconnoitring party. General Scott has not yet made known his plan of attack on the city, and, of course much speculation is indulged in, as to what will be. The general seems to have the perfect confidence of all his subordinates; little uneasiness is therefore felt as to the mode he may adopt in his operations.

14 August. . . I have been out all day with my company reconnoitring Lake Chalco, near the borders of which we are at present encamped. It was the object of this expedition to ascer-

tain whether there was a canal, as had been reported leading from this lake to another nearer the city, through which large flat boats could enter, and also whether there was an outlet to the lake. Our expedition was unable to accomplish either of these objects. This lake has an average depth of water from ten to fifteen feet. There are numerous islands floating about in it. These are formed along the shores of the lake, from which they are detached by strong winds and blown about from one place to another. They are covered by a rank growth of swamp grass. The lake is perhaps ten or fifteen miles in circumference, at one time evidently much greater. It contains but few fish, they are small, few water fowls, plenty of water snakes. No important military operations have been going on above board today.

15 August. . . Sunday. All quiet as a calm before a storm, orders out for marching tomorrow morning at five o'clock. It is not known in what directions. The crisis is at hand which is to determine which is the greatest, Mexican folly or Yankee impudence; her folly in not coming to terms before we obtain possession of her capital, or our impudence in placing ourselves beyond support with an army of ten thousand men, to attack a strongly fortified city, containing a population of two hundred thousand, and defended by an army of at least thirty thousand men. History has no parallel to this, and all are anxious to know what the result will be.

16 August. . . Left our encampment at Ayotha this morning at six o'clock, retracing our steps for a few miles, then turning to our right by a route leading through Chalco, thus avoiding the fortifications of El Pinan. We had advanced about two and a half miles when it was reported that the enemy were in force in front of our column. The train was moved on, and as we came up the enemy appeared in the field on our left. His strength was variously estimated from six to ten thousand, a large proportion of which was cavalry. The second brigade of the division was immediately formed in line of battle, and thrown forward to bring on an engagement. This brigade is composed of the 4th Artillery and the 2nd and 7th companies of Infantry, with these were united three pieces of Taylor's battery. The 1st Brigade was drawn up in rear to form a reserve. We advanced rapidly towards the enemy for about half a mile, and then gave him six or seven rounds from the battery, when he

gave way, manifesting no disposition to engage us. We did not get within musket range. Some execution was done among the Mexicans since they left five or six dead horses on the field, and an officer's hat with a part of his head in it. What number of men were killed could not be ascertained, since they were carried off. Our force was about three thousand. After making a halt for some time and being convinced that the enemy did not intend to give us a fight, we resumed our march around the lake to the western side of the city, whence the main part of the army had preceded us. We are encamped tonight two miles beyond Chalco.

17 August. . . . Marched today about nine miles over as bad a road as ever was traveled. A force of five cavalry hung on our flank last night, but have not been seen today. Our route lays round the southern border of Lake Chalco. The soil in this part of the valley is extremely fertile. A miserable kind of rice corn seems, however, to be the only grain the natives try to cultivate. The stalk is very large and grows to a great height, but has very little grain in it. Of this rice there are immense fields, containing hundreds of acres. We passed through several Indian villages, the houses of which are constructed of mud and sun dried brick, and filled with miserable naked Indians. On every hand are indications of ruin and decay, none of prosperity and improvement. We are encamped tonight in a large magnificent olive orchard, to which is attached a mill for manufacturing the oil.

18 August. . . . Camp at Jochemilco eight miles from the olive orchard. It has been a very unpleasant days' march, most of the time the rain has come down in torrents, and the road is horribly bad. Nothing but Yankee ingenuity and enterprise could have overcome the obstacles which we have encountered today. It may well surprise the Mexicans to see how we contrive to get our heavy siege train and other ordinance over such places. A few guerillas showed themselves in our rear, one of whom was killed. General Worth's division, which preceded us a day or two, has been reconnoitring the enemy's position at San Antonia which is still some distance in the advance. While thus engaged the enemy fired on a party of our cavalry: the first shot killing Captain Thornton of the Dragoons. For the next few days we shall have plenty of work to do.

19 August. . . . Left Jochemilco for San Augustine where we

arrived about ten o'clock A. M. Immediately on our arrival we were informed that Pillow's division was three or four miles in advance, endeavoring to make a road for the purpose of turning the right flank of the enemy's works at San Antonia. Twiggs's division having its train at San Augustine, received two days' rations in haversack, and moved on to support Pillow in his operations. We came up to his position at two o'clock P. M. Magruder's and Taylor's field batteries and the mountain Howitzer battery were the only guns we could bring to bear on his position. And this at such a distance that little execution was done by the Rifle Regiment, thrown forward as skirmishers, because engaged with advance parties. While the enemy was thus engaged in front of his line, Colonel Riley's brigade (4th Artillery, 2nd, and 7th Infantry) moved to the right over ground considered by the enemy as impassable. He had selected his position under this supposition. Our route lay across a "Pedregal," or in other words, over a series of dikes, fissures, and sharp rocks of volcanic formation. The object of this move was either to turn the enemy's left flank, or attack him in the rear as circumstance might determine. We succeeded with some annoyance from artillery fire in gaining the position we sought. Parties of cavalry were sent out to oppose us. These were several times repulsed with considerable loss. While we were engaged in reconnoitring and in watching the enemy from our position, Santa Anna made his appearance in our rear with a force of six or eight thousand men and a battery of artillery. The day was now drawing to a close. It was not known at this time that re-enforcements had been sent to us, across the "Pedregal," and we, as well may be imagined, felt anything but confidence in being able to maintain our position. Our brigade consisted of only about thirteen hundred men, and we were surrounded by thousands. The ground, however, was favorable to us. In retracing our steps for a short distance to the little hamlet of Contrarius, which in consequence of broken ground, trees, and orchards, was not visible from the position we occupied, we found that Smith's and Cadwallader's brigades and some other troops had come to our assistance. Darkness soon ended all operations for the day. We had accomplished apparently little towards routing the enemy, and had suffered more than we wished to acknowledge. We had been subject to a heavy cannonading from the time the action commenced. The light artillery we

had employed was nearly used up, and we had gained nothing but our position. St. Johnston, 1st Artillery, killed at one of the batteries. Pillow planned the operations of the day, and at its close confessed himself unsuccessful, with little hope of gaining a victory should the action be renewed in the morning. Night closed in with black clouds hanging over us, threatening to deluge the earth. Soon the rain poured down in torrents. We had no shelter and everyone was forced to lie down where he stood. The fatiguing operations of the day however, had rendered us insensible to slight inconveniences. We had two or three hours of sleep before operations were commenced again.

21 August. . . . At three o'clock this morning, rain still pouring, we were noiselessly called to arms, and informed that the camp of Contrarias was to be stormed at daylight, and carried without firing a gun, at the point of the bayonet. Silently, we made our way through by-paths and ravines for about one mile and a half, which brought us to the rear of the enemy's camp, at which point the assault was to be made. Before we arrived here, day had dawned, and our approach was discovered. The original plan of attacking, with the bayonet only, was abandoned. Nevertheless, it was determined that the assault should be made. The lateness of the hour resulted from the fact, that a portion of the troops had missed the way, and thus had become separated from the rest. The assaulting columns were formed, and the command to advance was given. We marched within musket range, displayed our columns into line under fire: which done, the 4th Artillery, on the right, the 7th Infantry, on the left, and the 2nd Infantry, in the rear, forming a second line, the command was given to charge. In seventeen minutes the camp of Contrarias was ours. The spoils were twenty-two pieces of cannon, mostly heavy guns, great quantities of ammunition, hundreds of pack mules and horses, and about eleven hundred prisoners. Unfortunately, Valencia who commanded this force escaped. This was his invincible division, which a short time before left San Luis Potise to save the capital. Among the captured guns were two six pounders lost by O'Brien of the 4th Artillery at the battle of Buena Vista. The regiment that lost them there recaptured them here. They were presented in perpetuity to the Regiment by General Scott on the field where the enemy lost them. Scott said he would have inscribed

on them, "Lost without dishonor and regained with glory." The 4th Artillery occupied the captured camp. The remainder of Twiggs's division together with Pillow's started, immediately after this glorious victory to assist Worth, who had for two or three days been keeping the enemy in check at San Antonio. As soon as Valencia's defeat had been made known to the remainder of the Mexican army, it hastened to abandon the works at San Antonia, since being turned they were no longer capable of good defence. They fell back on Churubusco, and the fortifications at that point. The divisions of Worth, Twiggs and Pillow soon came up, and became hotly engaged. After a bloody conflict, which lasted for three hours, with great loss on both sides, victory again crowned the American arms, for the second time the same day. The Mexican force was about two and a half or three times greater than our own. In this action we lost many valuable officers. Captain Karney in command of a squadron of Dragoons most gallantly charged the retreating foe to the very gates of the city. In doing which he lost his arm, and performed one of the most daring and distinguished feats of the war, far surpassing May's celebrated charge. There is no doubt that there was a want of distinction and regularity in the attack. If proper attention had been given to these points, our loss would have been less, and our victory more easily attained. Worth's division marched from the field to the town of Tacubque, Twiggs's to San Angel, Pillow's to Miscoac. Quitman remaining where he had been during the day, at San Augustine. In the engagement in the morning I received a musket ball through my right hand.

21 August. . . . Negotiations for an armistice going on. . . the anticipation of which caused Scott to withdraw his army yesterday instead of following the enemy into the city, which in the opinion of all could have been done, without much loss or resistance. General Scott is severely censured by many for not making the attempt. He disregards these censures in his efforts to attain a great national object. He sacrifices a great temporary reputation in doing as he does. It is urged that the Mexicans are not sincere, that they are deceiving in order to gain time, and to recover from their recent discomfitures. Perhaps this is their object, but Scott has every evidence that ought to influence reason, that as an advantage of this armistice they will honestly endeavor to reconcile the differences between the two

nations. By doing so, they will probably preserve the little honor that is left them, by saving their capital from conquest, and in averting the many evils that will be consequent to such a result.

22 August. . . The armistice concluded yesterday. 4th Artillery quartered at Cozvacan. Myself in the hospital at San Augustine nursing my hand.

27 August. . . . No military operations in progress for the last few days. Much discussion concerning the armistice, and speculations as to whether anything will result from it favorable to peace. The Quarter Master by virtue of an article in the armistice sent a train of wagons into the city today, for the purpose of obtaining provisions for the army. The exasperated mob stoned the teamsters and mules. No escort accompanied the train into the city, one was sent with it but was not allowed to proceed farther than the city gates. Mexican authorities guaranteeing the safe conduct of it. Santa Anna renders reasons and excuses satisfactory to General Scott for this outrage. Scott is severely censured by some for accepting any apology for such a flagrant insult and breach of faith. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the facts in the case to form any opinion on the subject.

28 August. . . The recent excitement of the battles has in a great measure subsided, and a quiet impatience rests on every one. All the camps are full of rumors, started no doubt to furnish something to talk about.

6 September. . . . One of the articles of the armistice stipulated that either party could terminate it by giving previously forty eight hours' notice to the other. During the last three or four days the Mexicans have so openly and indecently violated its conditions that Scott resolved today to give the notice, although abundantly justified in immediately recommencing hostilities. Troops disposed in different positions to be ready to renew operations.

7 Sept. This evening at six o'clock Riley's brigade evacuates Cozvacan and San Angle. . . takes up a position near the city on the Riedad road. General hospital and depot established at Miscoac. Colonel Harney in command. My wound not allowing me to go with my regiment, I go to Miscoac. Orders were given tonight to organize a command for the purpose of making an attack in the morning on what is supposed to be an

iron foundry, standing at the base of Chapultepec. It is supposed that the enemy are using this for the purpose of casting cannon, shot, shells etc. and it must therefore be destroyed.

8 Sept. . . . Early this morning a dash was made on the foundry but the reception we received soon convinced us that the enemy was formidable, both in numbers and in position, and that with our plan of attack he could not be easily routed. More troops were ordered up by Scott, making our force in this engagement including infantry and cavalry, just 3251. Soon the action became general and lasted for about two hours. The enemy numbered not less than ten, or perhaps fifteen thousand men, posted behind strong entrenchments. This unexpected and undesirable action resulted in a complete rout to the enemy, but not without severe loss on our side, at a time when every man's life is precious. Our loss is estimated at 600 including many valuable officers. Some of these were killed on the field by the enemy after they were wounded. The gallant old McIntosh was on this field mortally wounded. A braver man never lived. The battle of "Molino del Rey" has spread a gloom over the army, in consequence of so great a loss of friends, war material, and the apparently barren results of the action. The enemy supposed it was also our intention to attack Chapultepec, which not being attempted as was positively ordered, gave him the idea that we had failed in our object, and it may be inspiring him after the successive defeats of Contrarias and Churubusco. This battle was fought by General Worth's and a part of Pillow's Divisions. Captain Drum, 4th Artillery, commanding a field battery, gained great reputation in this engagement. Duncan's light battery also did good execution.

9 Sept. . . . Great speculation as to the real point at which General Scott intends to attack the city. Threatens two or three points, for the purpose of disconcerting the enemy.

10 Sept. . . . There has been some firing today at our advance pickets. . . nothing of importance transpired in public: the General's plan of attack is not yet divulged.

11 Sept. . . . Council of war held. . . Twiggs with the 2nd Brigade of his division ordered to la Piedad. Pillow and Quitman to Lacubuyu. A strong display of Lancers this evening in the direction of the city, which were driven in by a few rounds from McGruder's battery. Steptac's battery to be placed in

position tonight. The batteries on Chapultepec have kept up a close fire on us during the day.

12 Sept. Batteries on, or near, la Piedad road opened early this morning. Others near Lacubuya have kept up a regular fire on the fortifications of Chapultepec during the day. It has been determined to storm the heights of Chapultepec early tomorrow morning. The storming party has been organized from various regiments. Lieut. Hill and Dr. Russy, 4th Artillery, volunteer for this service.

13 Sept. This morning all the guns that could be brought to bear on it, opened on the fortress of Chapultepec. At a concentrated signal the cannonading on our part ceased, and our troops advanced rapidly to storm the height. The assault was vigorous, determined, and successful. This was thought by the Mexicans to be an almost impregnable point: yet by nine o'clock in the morning we were in possession of it. As soon as this work fell General Quitman's division reinforced by General P. F. Smith's brigade followed up the enemy as they retreated to the city by the Lacubuya road, in doing which, the men were well protected by the arches of a famous aqueduct, from a very warm fire that opened on them from the city. General Worth also brought up his division as the route commenced taking the San Cosmé road in his advance on the city. He carried some outer works defended by the enemy, and towards night succeeded in gaining a lodgment in the suburbs of the town. Quitman followed up his successes until he had also gained a lodgment in the suburbs, at the garita de Belen. This point was hotly contested, nobly carried, and resolutely maintained under a destructive fire from the citadel and adjacent fortifications. It was here that the brave Captain Drum and Lieutenant Benjamin, 4th Artillery, fell mortally wounded, while at their battery. Colonel Riley with his brigade is ordered to re-enforce Worth tonight. Worth has made good progress on the San Cosmé road. The enemy are now driven entirely within the city, all their works having fallen. They still have possession of the Citadel, a most formidable work.

14 Sept. During the early part of the night past, while our forces were busily engaged in taking advantage of the successes gained through the day, for the purpose of renewing operations with the morning, and after a few heavy shells had been thrown into the city, the civil authorities came and de-

manded a conference with General Scott, which being granted, they informed him that Santa Anna had fled from the city with all the forces he could induce to follow him, and that it could no longer be defended. An unconditional surrender followed this announcement. Early this morning our troops cautiously entered the city. They were fired upon from the tops of the houses and from out of windows by armed mobs, and struggling bands of soldiers, all of whom were no doubt anxious to incense us to such an extent that we would sack the city, in which event they hoped to obtain a share of the plunder. With the aid of artillery, and by breaking open houses, and ascending to the tops, we succeeded in killing and dispersing many of the lawless villains, not however, without suffering considerably from their firing. The 4th Artillery quartered tonight at the city prison near the Alameda.⁸

15th Sept. . . . The 4th Artillery received orders last night to take quarters in the national palace. The firing from house tops has been continued through the day. Our troops have been sent, in small parties, into different parts of the city proper for the purpose of dispensing these lawless bands, and of restoring quiet. Many of the Mexicans have been killed.

16 Sept. . . . Firing from the houses still going on though somewhat subsided. Every means has been taken to suppress it, both by General Scott and the civil authorities of the city.

17 Sept. . . . There has been very little firing today, the city is comparatively quiet, and our army is quartered in different sections of the city with a view to its defense. The sick and wounded are being brought in from the neighboring towns, and the indications of the late bloody conflicts are rapidly passing away.

15 October. . . . Between seven and eight o'clock a few mornings ago, while I was standing at a mirror tying my cravat, the heavy doors leading from my room on to the balcony in front, suddenly began to sway back and forth in a manner which I thought very singular and only to be accounted for by supposing they were moved by the wind. I walked to the opening: there was not a breath of wind stirring. I placed the doors, which were very heavy, and about five inches in thickness, back in their usual position. I had no sooner done so than

⁸ A park and promenade consisting of 40 acres.

they began to swing again. At this moment I felt a dizziness of the head and sickness at the stomach. I walked a few steps for the purpose of gaining a chair which stood near by, which I performed with the sensations and after the manner of a drunken man. These feelings lasted only for a few moments, but it was some time before I ascertained the cause of them. It seems that without suspecting it, I had had the pleasure of experiencing the sensations of an earthquake, which severe as it was I did not divine at the moment. The pools of water standing about in the streets were visibly affected by it, long lines of buildings could be seen to wave and heave causing the occupants to leave them in terror, not wishing to be buried in the ruin which threatened them. The Mexican population seemed to be more affected by the threatening danger, than those who were less accustomed to it. Merchants left their shops, coachmen jumped from their boxes, muleteers left their mules, those who were in their houses came out, and all fell on their knees on the ground, and crossing themselves muttered their Aves to the holy mother that she would interfere and avert the impending calamity. I am of a naturally curious disposition, fond of witnessing unusual exhibitions and grand phenomena in the heavens and earth, yet I hereby declare my curiosity is abundantly satiated in regard to earthquakes. Since the occurrence of this grand shock, there have been several others perceptible, though not in any way alarming.

I am much disappointed in the size of the city of Mexico. From its population, which is said to be about two hundred thousand (and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of this estimate) I expected to find it a much larger city. I am sure an American town containing fifty thousand inhabitants would cover as much ground. It is not unusual here for eight or ten persons to occupy one room. The streets are perfectly straight, level, and laid out at right angles to each other. It is by no means an uninteresting sight, standing at the head of one of them to look towards the other end. What a motley crowd of human beings, animals, and things which it would be difficult to class with either the human or brute creation! Extending the view you catch a glimpse of the distant fields, and still farther off, limiting the vision, are to be seen rising into noble heights the hills which encircle this lovely valley. The population of Mexico is a mixed crowd. There are still remaining a

few families of immediate Spanish origin, and many who are descendants, or are anxious to be considered as descendants, of Spanish ancestors. In this class may also be placed some who are of pure Mexican descent. These constitute the aristocracy of the country. They are generally very wealthy, possess more or less refinement, are hospitable, proud and vain, and I am forced to add most singularly ignorant. The tradesmen are mostly foreign French and English, very few respectable Americans are to be found among them, our countrymen being generally represented by roving adventurers. The *Liperoes* constitute the great bulk of the population. They are idle and vicious, have no regular employment, and live in the streets. They subsist on what they steal and beg, sometimes obtaining possession of old books, old clothes, or gaudy trinkets, which they hawk about trying to sell them at enormous prices: but they will take any sum one is pleased to give. The Indians of the surrounding country, every day flock into the city in great numbers to find a market for their products, consisting mostly of vegetables and fruits. They supply the wants of the city in these productions. As a body they are honest, and laborious but their efforts not being directed by any intelligence suffice only to afford them a bare subsistence. They are little elevated above brutes, yet knowing no higher state of existence, seem to be contented and happy. What I have been least able to comprehend in the organization of society in this country is the influence which the Roman Catholic priesthood possesses over all classes of people, high and low, rich and poor. It is incomprehensible to me how reason, common sense, natural instinct, can become so utterly subverted as to tolerate, yes venerate, an institution, dignified by the name of religion, which is so impious, tyrannous, and corrupt, as the church of Rome in this wretched country. Its ministers have most certainly stolen the garb of the court of Heaven to serve the devil in: and dressed in this garb they dare to stand at the altar professedly erected to the worship of God, and with their own souls reeking in the foulest sins to pronounce in the name of the Almighty, absolution and forgiveness to those who in comparison to them are pure of heart; and from these priests they must receive advice, spiritual counsel, and the aid necessary to direct their steps to heaven. Though few there must be some of the clergy who are virtuous and pious men, otherwise such corruption would de-

stroy itself. As it is, it cannot be that the time is far off when the light of truth will dispel this wonderful illusion, and pure temples of Christianity rise up in those places where now stand grand cathedrals, gloomy, mysterious convents, and ecclesiastical whore-houses. There are many magnificent edifices in the city of Mexico, surpassing anything of the kind I have ever seen before. Among them the Cathedral and Minesia, or College of Mines, take the first rank. The National Palace is a very extensive building, having a long front, and presents rather an imposing appearance. The Museum, insignificant in comparison with what it might with little trouble be made, contains many objects of great curiosity: such as, the household and agricultural utensils of the Aztecs, the grotesque figures which expressed their ideas of superior beings, and many things illustrating the state of arts and sciences among that singular people. Montezuma's dial, and the armour of Cortez, are still preserved. The famous aqueducts which supply the city with water are indeed grand works, comparing not unfavorably with any similar works of the age.

1 November. A train of about three hundred wagons left the city today en route for Vera Cruz. The first train that has gone down since we left Puebla. Many wounded and sick officers go with it. Colonel Harney in command.

13 Nov. Visited today the fortifications at Churubusco, Mexichalsugo, and Pinan. General Scott and many other officers in the party. Lovely day and I enjoyed the ride very much. The distance by the route we followed is about twenty-three miles. For a part of the way we skirted what were formerly the Salt Lakes of the valley, but which are now shrunk into the dimensions of shallow marshes. The borders of these are covered with a white incrustation of salt. The plains in the vicinity of these marshes are apparently barren and unproductive, owing, I suppose to the soil being so impregnated with salt, arising from overflows and evaporations. I climbed to the top of El Pinan where I had a magnificent view, of the surrounding valley with its lakes, its ancient city and lesser villages. It was no inconsiderable satisfaction to look down on the plain below, where on the fifteenth of August, with a mere handful of men we had lain the entire day eying this noble eminence, begirt with fortifications and guns from its base to its summit, anxiously speculating on the result of our wonderful enterprise. The re-

sult is now known. It is well, I think, that we did not attack the city at this point or at Mexichalsugo, both are by nature very strong positions, and would have been difficult to carry. 18 Nov. A mail arrived today from the United States. I received three letters from Clint, latest date August 21. Not very late, to be sure, but I had not heard from home before these since May. No letter from any of my sisters.

20 NOV. Rumor says that the 4th is going to Vera Cruz to garrison that place. The move is not wished for much by some of us. I am almost indifferent about it. Would like to spend the winter there, but unless the war terminates there is no hope of getting away, and I had rather take my chance on the sulphurous field than to fall by the vile vomito. That which has no remedy, however, must be borne.

25 NOV. Tonight came off the first genuine revel in the halls of the Montezumas. The officers of the 2nd division of the army, commanded by General Twiggs, who is about to leave us for Vera Cruz, complimented the old General by giving him a dinner in the National Palace. Being in this division since its first organization at the siege of Vera Cruz, I was one of the number present. It was a most magnificent affair.

It is rumored that Mr. Trist, our commissioner, has been recalled. Not knowing at Washington what may be the condition of affairs here, it is singular if he has been recalled unconditionally. It is my opinion, however, that the sooner he leaves the army, the better will be the prospects of peace. It is questionable whether it was good policy to send him here at all. It is said, that General Scott for the thousandth time has received instructions to prosecute the war with more severity. The Mexican Congress at Querotaro broke up some days ago. It is rumored that troops are collecting there. Doubtful.

29 NOV. . . . It has been very cold for a few nights past, a heavy white frost appearing in the morning. Old Popocatapetl is covered with snow near to his base. An hour or two after the sun rises all is warm and bright as nature ever is when she smiles. The old white-haired king of mountains proud, cold, and stern, scorns to smile. From his haughty, noble features, one seems to read his history. An insubordinate, rejected child of the sun, hurled from his burning home, to suffer as penance, the reverse torments of eternal winter. No less noble than women may be, without suffering diminution, is she whom he has se-

lected for his bride. . Iztacutaitl. There side by side, among their people for thousands of years have they reigned, still refusing to admit the superiority of the sun.

4 December. . . . Today with another pleasure party I visited the pretty village of San Angle, the battle field of Contrarias, and the renowned pueblo de San Augustine. In riding over the battle field, engaged in many pleasant reminiscences. Save the fort scarcely a vestige of the bloody carnage remained. The village of San Augustine lying eight or ten miles south-east of the city of Mexico is a great place of resort during three days of the month of June. The principal amusement is gambling. It is sometimes carried to a most startling extent, thousands of dollars being staked on the turn of a card.

12 DEC. . . . I am officer guard at the Acosdada, and in consequence have been prevented from witnessing the celebration of the festival of Our Lady of Guadalupe at the shrine of the goddess erected on the spot where she made her first appearance to the Indians. This is the most noted of all the fête days in Mexico. Thousands resort here from all quarters, particularly Indians, to make their offerings and their worships. There is not a house in which her image will not be found, and in all the churches she is the prominent deity. As the fable of her first appearance is curious, and as it is so implicitly believed among all classes here, I have preserved a very good narration⁹ of it which will be found in the back of the book.

17 DEC. . . . General Orders No. 376 published today. This order announces one of the most important events of the war. The policy, which it declares will hereafter be pursued, entirely changes our position in this country and will undoubtedly cause the Mexican people to think more seriously of the advantages of a peace. This order relates to imposts, taxes, etc. and as far as practicable, to the military occupation of the entire country.

18 DEC. . . . Today, I visited the tower of the Cathedral, a spot from which I could overlook the entire city, and surrounding valley. How unsurpassingly lovely was the scene, and how wonderful the associations connected with it! All the squalor, misery, and vice, which flourish here with such a rank growth were far below me. I saw none of the dark spots of the picture. Could I have forgotten that there were such, I would have had

⁹ Newspaper clipping that is too extended for insertion in the Quarterly.

no other desire than to spend the remainder of my days in this enchanted region.

19 DEC. . . . A beautiful morning. Rode out to meet Colonel Johnston's train on its way from Vera Cruz. After a ride of fourteen miles, met the train at Ayotha. As the day was rather far advanced, we, that is, Brown, Getty, and myself were induced to remain in camp for the night. In the evening, I attended a meeting of the Altinators, a society of officers formed for the promotion of wit, fun, and good fellowship. They were surely as rare a band as one can meet with. at twelve o'clock I went to bed, that is, I lay down on the ground and pulled a blanket over me, after having taken a goodly number of hot punches, shared in a roast pig, and exhausted myself by hours of immoderate laughter. Was fresh in my saddle by sunrise in the morning, and started for the city, arriving in due time.

20 DEC. . . . Captain Snead arrived today with company M. of the 4th. Within the last four or five days, Generals Butler, Lane, Cushing, etc. have arrived. Scott has recently reorganized his army, mixing up the old veterans with the new arrivals. The "Cerro Gordo Division" (Twiggs's) has lost its identity by this new arrangement. The old veteran "Contrarius Brigade" (Riley's) is swallowed up in the same mixture. The 4th is now in Cadwallader's brigade, which is composed of the 4th Artillery, 1st, 6th, 8th, & 11th Infantry, and Stepton's light battery. Alas, when will human calamities cease!

25 DEC. . . . Christmas! the second I have passed in this country. Whether it was this fact or some other that made me so merry this evening, I can not exactly determine. It may be a combination of causes, producing a combination of results, which will explain and illuminate the truth of the matter. Moved today from the Convento de Profeso to No. 6 Collegion de Santa Clara, a house occupied by the lady of General Pena y Barrezan. I like the house exceedingly, or rather I should say, a sweet and charming senorita exceedingly, who is one of the occupants, and a daughter of General Barrezan. I am afraid her proximity will endanger my patriotism.

26 DEC. . . . The 9th Infantry, Col. Withers commanding, left town today for Pachuca. Lieut. Hill, 4th Arty. and twenty men accompany the command in charge of two pieces of artillery (8 Rds.). Pachuca is a small town about sixty miles west of north of Mexico, situated on the border of the state of Quer-

etaro. Near it is a large mining company, "Real del Monts."
27 DEC. . . . Nothing of importance transpires today. It is
rumored that a general move will soon be made north.

30 DEC. . . . Rumour says, that Davie Hill has had his pieces
taken from him that Generals Scott, Worth, Pillow, and Colonel
Duncan, the three latter in arrest, are ordered home to have
their conduct investigated: that General Worth is to relieve
General Smith as civil and military governor: that General
Cushing is to relieve Smith as governor &c, &c, &c.

1848

1st January. . . According to custom I visited some of my
friends this morning (New Year) Found them all happy, some
very happy, was tolerably happy myself. As the sun went
down, I went up. As the moon went up, I didn't go down, and
when Phoebus rose, I went to bed rather happy.

2 JAN. . . . General Valencia was taken prisoner at his hacienda
last night, by Colonel Wynkoop, (Penn. Volts.) with a party of
Texans. Colonel Wynkoop went out for the purpose of cap-
turing the famous priest and brigand, Jaranta. With Gen. V.
was also taken Col. Arrietas, one of the General Staff. Today
orders were published to our brigade (Cadwallader's) to hold it-
self in readiness to march on the 5th Inst. Toluca, forty-five
miles south-west of this city is supposed to be our destination.
I am appointed ordinance officer to the brigade.

4 JAN. . . . This morning Cadwallader's brigade left the city of
Mexico en route for Toluca, marched 14 miles and encamped
tonight at Guaemulpu. After leaving the basin of Mexico, the
country over which we passed today, has a black, barren, vol-
canic appearance, sparsely inhabited, and cultivated only in
spots. We found but little water, and no timber. From Tacu-
baya, which lies in the basin, and only three miles from the
Capital, the road gradually ascends. It is in excellent condition,
perfectly smooth and hard. As we ascended the hills the en-
chanted valley, which lay spread out like a map before us, re-
quired no great effort of the imagination, to throw over it an air
of romance, far surpassing that of the most fabled lands of an-
tiquity. There were the shining lakes, and the fields and groves,
enriched by human gore. For, age upon age, these had wit-
nessed the many fierce struggles of men contending for power,
for plunder, and for liberty. Savage with savage, civilization
with semi-barbarism. Amid all this havoc there these valleys

were, unchanged, quiet, beautiful. Conspicuous above all rose the mound of Chapultepec, the favorite resort of Aztec kings: still shaded by the grove of tall cypress trees, under whose outstretched arms effeminate and irresolute Montezuma once held royal fetes, and Indian maidens wove their garlands of flowers, destined to deck the brows of the successful braves. Alas, how little was then foreshadowed the fate of this lovely valley!

It is rumored that the brigand priest, Jaranta, has a force in our advance, 8 or 900 strong, with which he intends to dispute a pass through which our route lies. There is no probability that he will do so. The day has been lovely, but we are in regions so elevated now, that the nights are uncomfortably cold. 7 JAN. . . . Camp at Lerma, 15 miles from Guaemalpu, which place we left at an early hour this morning. In our progress today we continued to ascend for about five miles, when we attained, at "Las Cruces", the highest point of the range of mountains over which the road passes, that divides the valleys of Mexico and Toluca. Here we caught the first glimpse of the "Valley of Toluca". It burst unexpectedly on our sight, lovely and beautiful as the brightest imagination can picture it. From this point, we commenced a rapid descent, with the town of Toluca and the one in which we are quartered for tonight, constantly in view. At the base of the mountains is the town of Lerma. It is small. The houses are built mostly of adobe. The inhabitants are principally Indians. Until we got into the valley there did not appear much evidence of cultivation. The country over which we passed the first part of the day has a volcanic appearance, black, barren, and very much broken up by deep ravines and yawning chasms. Mountain streams were abundant, affording us a noble supply of delicious water. There is also a very good growth of pine trees along this part of the road. About six miles before reaching Lerma, we came to the pass where it was supposed Jaranta would make his stand if he intended to oppose us. At this place the road winding around the base of the hill crosses a deep ravine, over which is constructed a massive stone bridge. On the opposite side of this ravine, to our approach, the Mexicans had thrown up a line of fortifications, consisting of three field forts, completely commanding the pass. Although the place looked formidable, I do not think it would have been difficult to carry, had the enemy attempted to maintain it. Also we found on approaching Lerma

that a line of fortifications had been constructed commanding the usual entrance to the town, which was by a narrow causeway. The town is surrounded by impracticable marshes, which would have given us some trouble, had any opposition been made to our advance. But in place of meeting with bayonets and cannon, we were greeted with white flags, one of which hung from every hovel and house.

8 JAN. Toluca, 11 miles from Lerma. We arrived here today about one o'clock A. M. From Lerma to this place the road is perfectly straight, and level, running longitudinally across the bed of the valley. The soil is very rich, and it is said cannot be surpassed in fertility by any other part of the country. Certain it is, evidences of cultivation are superior to anything I have seen in other parts. There is no timber in the valley, though an abundance of pine on the mountains which hem it in. There seems to be very few running streams. There are a few small lakes or ponds. When possible the owners of the haciendas cause large ponds to be constructed on their estates. These, by means of aqueducts, are filled with water, which is drawn for purposes of irrigation. This process is very necessary during a part of the year as the earth becomes very much parched for want of rain, which rarely falls during the latter part of autumn and winter. The entire valley is beautifully dotted over with Indian villages and haciendas. A hacienda is an estate owned by a landed proprietor. They are sometimes very large, frequently containing thousands of acres. The land is tilled by Indians. The proprietors generally live in the cities, and employ some one, who is called the administrator, to manage the affairs of the estate. Each one is a little village, or society by itself, making its own laws and executing them. As the form of religious worship is the first consideration of every Mexican, each hacienda has its chapel, in which all religious rites are observed. As crime is no less a characteristic, a prison is also attached. The principal productions of the valley are corn, barley, and some wheat.

The town of Toluca has a pretty appearance, is well built, and contains a population of about 6000. It is the capital of the state of Mexico. There is little pretension to fashion, or style, even among the higher classes. The greater part of the population are poor, miserable, ill clothed creatures. In a valley of such abundant production, one would hardly expect to see

the people picking up in the streets, the few kernels of corn that drop from our forage wagons as they pass along, yet such is frequently the case. I think there are more beggars in this town than in any other, in proportion to its population, in the republic.

There are very few houses, or establishments in any part of the country for the maintenance of the poor. I have never been able to account for this, since there are probably more true objects of charity among these people than any other in the world. Deformed and contorted limbs are the most frequent afflictions. It is sometimes almost impossible to recognize in these horrible, revolting, and disgusting objects any traces of the human species. You stop to converse for a moment in the streets, and you are interrupted by a whining noise behind you. On turning to see from whence it comes, you behold an old woman, whom sixty years have bent nearly to the earth. The dirty rags that hang about her scarcely conceal the bones, that are protruding through her wrinkled skin. Her bleared and sunken eyes emit no light of life. She extends towards you her bony, withered arm on which there is a hand that never had but one dwarf finger; in tones of misery she begs for charity. Although I have now seen so much of this, it still makes my blood run cold to witness it. Total blindness is also very common. You can scarcely walk a hundred yards without meeting some blind beggar, led along either by a child, or by an equally intelligent dog. The sidewalks are lined with them. They swarm around the doors of the churches and in every thoroughfare, chanting in most doleful strains their supplications for charity. In order the more to excite the benevolence of passers they strive to render still more hideous their horrible afflictions, by twisting into contortions their disgusting deformities, and rolling their sightless eyes. The very terror with which they inspire me has sometimes prevented me from giving them alms. It does not seem that those who are able, are unwilling to maintain these unfortunates, and I am unable to understand why public houses are not appropriated to them, in which they would be secluded, society being taxed for their support. However, it may be that the church ordains that they shall hobble and crawl about, for the purpose of keeping alive and active the charitable and benevolent qualities of the people. If so, I am sure the devil suggested the plan, and laughs at its success in

hardening the hearts of men against the misfortune of their fellow creatures.

This valley like that of Mexico, is a complete basin, surrounded on all sides by mountains. Among these is the Novada, or the Volcan de Toluca, a peak perpetually covered with snow. From the town of Toluca, it is a little west of south, about 16 miles distant.

20 FEB. . . . Today, the report that General Scott had been recalled, or suspended from the command of the army, was confirmed: in consequence of which universal dissatisfaction and mortification prevail throughout the regular army, and of so much of the other part of the army as has the intelligence to comprehend what a blow its efficiency has received. I was prepared to witness almost every abuse of power, was not ignorant of the foul workings of a contemptible scheme of political partyism, yet I did not believe Mr. Polk, or his advisers would dare to strike such a blow at the best interests of the service, and be guilty of such an act of flagrant injustice towards one who has so eminently served his country as has Scott as to suspend him from the command of this army, and at this time and place. It was well known that any mistake, failure, or misfortune, that might befall any of his operations would be for him, as it was for the generals of semi-civilization, a signal for his sacrifice. But he has made no mistakes, no failures or misfortunes have befallen him. His great abilities and honest purposes have triumphantly carried him over the enemy that was before him, and I had hoped would completely silence the dogs that were yelping on his track behind. It is impossible for an honest man to assign an honest reason for this infamous and disgraceful act. General Butler issues his order, taking command of the army.

24 FEB. . . . Last night six men from Stepton's battery deserted in a body to the enemy, each man taking a horse and all his equipments with him. This is the most remarkable instance of desertion that has occurred during the war. It was occasioned probably by the prospects of a speedy peace and the temptation of a high reward.

28 FEB. . . . It is said another armistice has been agreed upon . . . for how long, or upon what terms, I do not know.

1 MARCH. . . Gen. Butler reorganizes the army. Gen. Smith's brigade is composed of the 4th Artillery, Taylor's battery, 1st,

2nd, 3rd &- 7th, Inftrys. Mounted Reg. Riflemen, and the Marine corps.

6 March. . . . Today the armistice was published, sanctioned by Gen. Butler and the Mexican authorities. It will be severely censured by our government, unless peace soon follows. It reads as though the Mexicans had dictated it to their conquerors.

9 March. . . This day ends one year since with Gen. Scott's army I landed on the coast of Vera Cruz. Who could have anticipated at that time that the coming months would be crowded with such great events. How many of those brave, gallant, and generous souls, full of life and lusty hope have fought their last good fight. To those of us who have had the good fortune to see its close, it has been a year full of hardship, danger, and suffering. How few know the cost of military glory!

The *Voltigeurs* [light infantry] and 14th Reg. Inftry. arrived in Toluca today from Mexico. They relieve the 6th. & 8th Inftry. at this garrison, in accordance with the recent organization.

15 March. . . . Received intelligence of the death of John Quincy Adams.

A full ripe shock lies mouldering.

2 April. . . Relieved from duty as ordinance officer of the 3rd Division of the Army, on an application by Major Brown for my services with the regiment.

3 April. . . Intelligence that the Guadalupe Treaty of peace has been ratified, with some modifications, by the Senate of the United States reached the city of Mexico today. The alterations which have been made in it will not probably cause its rejection by the Mexican government.

8 MAY. . . . We are all patiently waiting for a sufficient number of Deputies to arrive at Quintiso to enable the Chamber to proceed to a consideration of the treaty of peace, which, of course, is the all engrossing subject of our thoughts. There seems to be great difficulty in forming a quorum.

22 MAY. . . . Received information that the treaty had been ratified by the Chamber of Deputies. Peace is now considered as virtually made. The Senate will act upon it immediately, and there is no doubt it will sanction the treaty. Homeward bound at last!

27 MAY. . . We, this day, received information that the treaty had received the final action necessary to peace. The Mexican

Senate has ratified it. Orders are issued from the Headquarters of the Army in the city of Mexico, concentrating the troops in the city, preparatory to our taking up our homeward march. These are surely glad tidings.

31 MAY. . . . This morning left Toluca en route for the city of Mexico. The Toluicans seemed very sorry to part with us. They protest that they have never, under their own government, enjoyed such a great feeling of security for their lives and property, as they have under ours. It is with no little concern that they see this protection removed. The inhabitants of Toluca are simple in their manners, and kind in their feelings. Leading, for the most part a contented agricultural life, they are less demoralized than their countrymen. The only interest they seem to feel in political events is that the government may be honestly administered on an unchanging basis.

In no part of the republic have I received so much kindness at the hands of Mexicans as at this place, and I certainly did not leave it without some feeling. I was forced to part with many good friends, with the conviction that I never should meet them again. Be it thus! I am homeward bound, and in this selfish consideration I find a counterpoise for all regret.

2 JUNE. . . . We arrived today in the city of Mexico, and are encamped on the Penan Plain outside the city. We expect to remain here until the 5th inst. when with the 1st brigade of Gen. Karney's division we move towards Vera Cruz. Major Morris, 1st Infy. commands this brigade.

Line of march back to Vera Cruz.

5 JUNE, Camp at Ayotha.

6 JUNE, Camp at Rio Frio

7 JUNE, Camp at San Martin

8 JUNE, Camp $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the city of Puebla.

9 JUNE, " at Amuzoque,

10 JUNE " " EL PEñal

11 JUNE " " Ajo del Aqua

12 JUNE Camp at Tepeyahualco

13 JUNE, Camp under the walls of the castle of Peroto, $18\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Tepeyahualco. There has been no change (save in the graveyard) in this place since I was here one year ago the 21st of this month. It is the same desolate, inhospitable, villainous town in its appearance as it was then. We are to remain here tomorrow for the purpose of resting our men, and of allow-

ing the troops in advance of us to get out of our way, it being inconvenient to move so close together.

14 JUNE. . . The 2d brigade of our division arrived here, at Perote today. Gen. Karney this morning received information from Gen. Smith at Vera Cruz that there would be some delay in the arrival of transportation at that place. In consequence of supplies for the army being insufficient at Jalapa, the General has determined that his division shall remain encamped here, until he receives more favorable information of the arrival of ships to carry us home. We are all disgusted with this necessary arrangement.

18 JUNE. . . Still at Perote trying to curb our impatience for an onward move, yet there is little hope of that for the present. I have been very busy for the last three days as Judge Advocate of a Military commission which has been in session in the castle for the trial of a band of robbers, which was apprehended in this vicinity a few days since. These men thirteen in number, formerly were attached to the army as teamsters, and were discharged from it in the city of Mexico. They formed an association for the purpose of highway robbery. Each one possessed himself of a good horse and equipments and thus mounted they set out on their marauding expeditions. When the band first organized in the city of Mexico it contained forty men, the captain of it being a Spaniard. I obtained sufficient proof of the guilt of those who were apprehended here to convict them.

19 JUNE The Cerro Gordo Division was on parade today, probably for the last time, as a division, to witness the punishment of the robbers referred to above. I never saw a finer body of men. It is undoubtedly the best division ever on the American continent, and its gallant deeds will be long remembered. We will leave this place tomorrow.

20 JUNE. . . Camp at La Haya, $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Perote.

21 JUNE. . Camp at La Bandrilla, 9 miles from La Haya and $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jalapa. We are to remain at our present camp until transportation is ready at Vera Cruz to carry us to the United States.

22 JUNE. . . This morning Major Morris, 4th Artillery, joined us with companies A & L. We left him behind at Puebla, when we passed through that city, where he had for some time been stationed with these companies. Gen. Worth's division also

arrived here this morning thus bringing the "regular army" all together again.

26 JUNE. . . Camp 4 miles from Jalapa, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ from La Baudrilla, which place we left this morning for reasons unknown to me. It was a delightful spot. So is this. We remain here a day or two.

28 JUNE. . . . Camp at Eucesso, 9 miles from Jalapa. By very short marches we are gradually drawing nearer to the coast. Yesterday, we received the orders from Washington, designating the different points in the United States for which the troops would sail, on leaving this country. The 3d and 4th regiments of artillery go to Old Point, in Va.

Our proximity to the Tierra Caliente, or hot region, is beginning to be apparent in the increased fierceness of the sun. One of Santa Anna's haciendas is located at this place.

3d JUNE. . . . Camp at Plan del Rio, 14 miles from Encesso. We have suffered much from the heat today. About 11 o'clock we passed the famous heights of Cerro Gordo, and we encamped on the same ground that we occupied for several days previous to that battle. It is a low, dirty, and unhealthy place: the limit of the vomito.

1 JULY. . . Camp at Puente de las Vigas, 19 miles from Plan del Rio. To day, we recrossed that stupendous work of art, the National Bridges. This part of the country abounds in grand and beautiful natural scenery. . Today, we caught for the first time glimpses of the gulf of Mexico. Our march today has been very fatiguing.

2 JULY Camp at Sante Fè, 17 miles from Puente de las Vigas. The day has been intensely hot. Some of our men, one or two, falling down dead from the effects of the sun. Water very bad.

3 JULY. . . Once more at Vera Cruz, and our long march ended. It seems now as if going home, though I am sorry to say there is no shipping in the harbour ready for us. Why we were marched down here into this hot and deadly region to wait for transportation to the United States is more than the wisest of us can understand. If ships have not arrived as fast as was expected, why were we not allowed to remain in the healthy region of Jalapa, until they were ready for us? There are at this moment, thousands of men congregated on this beach in the immediate vicinity of the fatal city of Vera Cruz. They have been hurried down here, from the upper and healthy country, expecting to leave

the coast, as soon as they arrived in it, but instead, they must remain here, no one can tell how long. In the meantime, if the yellow fever begins its ravages, who shall say what havoc death will make? Some one is culpable of unpardonable neglect of duty in thus unnecessarily exposing the army to the deadly influences of this climate. There really seems to be some difficulty in the minds of some men, in understanding to whom this blundering guilt should attach. Gen. Persifer F. Smith was ordered from the city of Mexico to Vera Cruz, weeks before the army began evacuating the country, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements, and of superintending the embarkation of the army for the United States. He was to provide shipping, and as fast as he was able to procure it, to keep Gen. W. O. Butler, at that time commanding the army, informed, in order that the troops might be drawn out of the healthy region, only so fast as they could be embarked at Vera Cruz; it having been decided by the surgeons of the army, that the army could be withdrawn from the country, notwithstanding the lateness of the season, if this mode of effecting it, was adopted. But about this time Gen. Butler received the nomination for Vice President of the U. S. On his receiving information of this, like the politician that he is, and not a soldier, he immediately left his army to shift for itself, thinking undoubtedly that the health and comfort of an expectant Vice President were of more consequence, than the lives of a few hundred vile soldiers, whom the country no longer had any need of. The next in rank to Gen. Butler, Gen. Patterson of Penn. was as unwilling as his prudent predecessor to share any of the dangers which the army was necessarily exposed to, as the season advanced, while it was waiting for transportation. He, also, left the army behind him, and hurried to throw himself into the outstretched arms of a mistaken people, who were more generous than discriminating, in welcoming their soldiers home. It is true, neither of the gentlemen had ever shared in the dangers, or glories of the battle field with the brave men under their command, because it was necessary that they should be at home attending to the political welfare of the nation, while these terrible deeds of blood were in progress in this country. It may be that this is the best reason, why they ought not to have been expected to remain faithful in the station of danger and responsibility which they have just deserted. The army being thus deprived,

at a very critical period, of a directing head, its movements have not been regulated with proper intelligence and system, at any time since it marched out of the valley of Mexico. Gen. Smith, however, was in the city of Vera Cruz, and knew how many transport ships were in the harbour, and it was his duty to have made known to the army, which, he was well aware, was advancing towards Vera Cruz, that he had not enough ships to send off the troops as fast as they would arrive at the coast: then they would undoubtedly have been detained in the upper country until shipping had arrived. Therefore, I think Gen. Smith is properly answerable for the lives that must be sacrificed, through this strange blunder, or more properly, this infamous operation. If he did give the necessary information, and notwithstanding, the army has been crowded down upon him, then, of course, he is not culpable. It is not generally understood that he did give such information. Every one is indignant that he is the subject of such unpardonable stupidity, whether owing to Smith, Worth, or all of them combined. It is hard, indeed, that these men who have just completed a long fatiguing march, who have endured every hardship without a murmur, and for their services are well-deserving, should be compelled to lie about in these burning sands, in this deadly climate for two or three weeks waiting for the arrival of vessels, all the time conscious that their sufferings have been unnecessarily brought upon them. Well, well, a soldier's life is full of lights and shade! This is only an episode in ours.

4 JULY... The anniversary of our national independence. May it be the last that will come round to me, under circumstances like the present. The sun is hot enough to explode gunpowder!

7 JULY. . . . Doctor Cuyler who has been with our regiment for a long time, and whom we all esteem very much, leaves us today for the United States. Lieut. Elminger has resigned, and also starts today for the White Settlements on the other side of the big lake.

The doctors here present with the army have sent in a protest to Gen. Karney against the troops remaining any longer in this unhealthy position which we are now occupying. They have recommended, that those regiments which will not soon embark, be marched back into the country to some more healthy

situation. So it seems we have not yet finished our marching. There is no doubt a move will be ordered.

8 JULY. . . . In consequence of the protest made yesterday by the surgeons, we broke up our camp on the beach where we suffered from the intense heat and burning sands, but enjoyed a fine sea breeze and surf bathing, and we are now on our route for the town of Madeline, or rather, we have arrived in this town. It is situated south west from Vera Cruz, and about ten miles distant. the ground is low, the soil alluvial, the vegetation, rich and luxuriant, to a degree surpassing every thing of the kind I have seen else where. Indeed, so rank and rapid is the growth, that the air is strongly scented with the odours of the different plants: a combination that is offensive is thus formed. The Madeline river, at this place, twenty yards wide and one yard deep, runs by the town. Its waters are impregnated with sarsaparilla. During the rainy season this river becomes so much swollen as to overflow the town, thus causing much sickness. At other times the place is considered healthy, and during the hot months is a resort for the inhabitants of Vera Cruz. Every variety of tropical fruit flower, and bird is found here in abundance. Notwithstanding the eyes are ravished wherever they turn with these voluptuous beauties of nature, still one can not but feel that there is disease lurking in every green leaf, that it is warbled from the throats of birds. The lungs, as if instinctive of it, refuse to perform their office well, and struggle against the prison of this dank, close air. It smells like a grave yard. We had all of us rather have remained on the beach where we were yesterday, notwithstanding we were within the sound of the tolling bells of the vomito's victims. We have been sent out here by men, who having committed a blunder, involving the lives, perhaps of hundreds of men, were fearfully desirous of shifting the responsibility from one source to another, an attempt as dishonest as it is difficult.

My tent, in which I am writing this, is pitched under two large cocoa-nut trees. Oranges, limes, pine-apples, and bananas are growing on every side in profusion. From the genial appearance of this region, I am reminded of the country around Tampico.

9 JULY. . . . 1st and 3d Infantry left here this morning for Vera Cruz. The 4th Artillery is the only regiment now in camp here.

12 JULY. . . This morning we broke up our camp at Madeline, expecting that on our arrival at this place (Vera Cruz) all the regiment would immediately embark: but when we got here it was found that there were ships enough for only one half of it. Accordingly companies A, F, H, and L embarked, leaving companies C, D, and E to go by the first opportunity to come. Thus are we again (I am commanding compy. C) encamped on this desolate coast about which we have been so long hovering. If the wind freshens it may bring in some more transports to-night, in which event we will be able to get off tomorrow.

13 JULY. . . this morning at seven o'clock we embarked (companies C, D, and E) on board the transport ship *Nonantum*, 650 tons burden, Capt. Lord, bound for New Orleans. Major W. W. Irwins commanding. Besides the three companies above named, we have on board 100 men who have been in the Quarter Master's employ, and 41 prisoners, who have been confined in the castle of San Juan de Ulloa. Ten days since we arrived at this port, and during this time every care has been taken on our part, every rigid measure put in force to prevent our soldiers from going into the city of Vera Cruz, or in any way becoming affected with the yellow fever. It was for this cause we left here a few days since, and marched to Madeline. It is to see whether this frightful disease is going to make its appearance among us, that we are now bound for New Orleans (the nearest American port) instead of sailing directly to the distant place of our destination, Fort Monroe, Va., it being humanely considered, that if the event dreaded does take place, we, by thus shortening our voyage, will suffer the least possible from it. Now, what have all these precautions availed us? We have this morning been compelled to receive into our midst 100 men who have for days past been breathing the polluted and poisoned air of the grog shops of Vera Cruz and of its hospitals: and 41 others from the castle, in whose prisons the yellow fever had been busy in knocking off chains! What strange and unaccountable inconsistency! If there was an apparent necessity for thus hazarding the lives of these brave and well-deserving soldiers, who after a long and hard service in a foreign country, are now flattered with the hope of soon visiting again their families and homes, it would not be, perhaps such wanton inhumanity thus to throw in among them the leaven of a dreaded disease. But there is not the shadow of such a necessity.

I cannot say positively that General Smith caused these men to be put on the same ship with us, but, whether he did or not, he is certainly responsible for the consequences, for it was his especial trust to ship the troops, with the least possible exposure. I think, too, our immediate commanding officer, Major W. W. Morris has not made as strong a protest against receiving these men on board as he should have done.

14 JULY . . . We have not yet weighed anchor. Every one is asking why we don't get under way, and no one can answer the question.

15 JULY At nine o'clock this morning we weighed anchor with 414 men on board for New Orleans. Never before did I leave any place with one half the pleasure with which I am now leaving the shores of Mexico. During the two years I have spent in that country, I have seen and suffered much. From savage and soft experience I have learned a stern lesson, never to be forgotten. In my future life it may not be altogether useless to me. Only to God be thanks, that I have thus far escaped the accidents of war, and the influences of an uncongenial climate. Our ship is a good one, and we all hope for a safe and speedy passage.

19 JULY. . . . At Sea. . . This is our fifth day out from the harbour of Vera Cruz. We have had tolerably fair winds, and made corresponding progress. Several poor fellows have found a deep grave, or from the jaws of death have passed to the almost equally voracious jaws of sharks. Some of these, as was so reasonably anticipated, died of vomito, or yellow fever. The deaths, thus far, have been confined exclusively to those infected men thrust upon us from the city of Vera Cruz.

21 JULY. . . . This morning at daylight, we hove in sight of the Belize, at the mouth of the Mississippi River. A thrill of delight shot through the hearts of all, as we caught a glimpse of the home of comfort and civilization. A steamer came alongside, and took us in tow. We are now gradually making our way up the river towards New Orleans.

22 JULY. . . . This morning at sunrise the city of the south—New Orleans—greeted our eyes. On our arrival we found several transports which had left Vera Cruz before us, anchored in the river, laden with troops. Among them were our friends, the other part of the old 4th, and we learned, that as soon as we could get ready, we would put out to sea again, and sail for

Fort Mounroe. During our passage here we have had several deaths on board, but the disease has not extended to our soldiers. We have been seven days on the passage, which, on the whole, has been as pleasant as circumstances would permit. The consciousness of leaving hostile for friendly shores, disposed all to feel lightly as possible the necessary evils of our situation.

23 JULY. . . . Today my company was transferred from the good Nonantum to the transport Robert Parker. I am, by no means, satisfied with the change, but as I have nothing to say in the matter, it can't be helped. I have spent most of the day in running about the city.

25 JULY. . . . At two O'clock this morning the transport Robert Parker, with companies C, D, and H, on board, Maj. H. Brown in command: Sabattis, with companies A. and E., Maj. W. W. Morris in command, and the Mary A. Jones with companies F. and L., Capt. W. P. Bainbridge in command left their anchorage near New Orleans, and are now making their way down the river towards the sea.

26 JULY. . . . Crossed the bar at Belize, and hoisted sail for Old Point. We have made little progress during the day. Head winds.

4 AUGUST. . . . For several days we have been beating against head winds, have been becalmed, and occasionally carried gently forward by favorable currents. A fine breeze sprang up during the night, which brought us this morning at sunrise, in view of the island of Cuba. It presented a bold and prominent outline, the highest peak of which was the Ran of Matanzas. The low southern coast of Florida has occasionally made its appearance.

6 August. . . . We are now in the Gulf Stream, and making tolerably good progress. A little to the southward of cape Florida, we passed a steamship bound south, supposed to be the Crescent City destined for New Orleans.

12 August. . . . Not a breath of air stirring. . . . While lying becalmed we were visited by a doctor from a transport which has been in our company for a day or two past. He came aboard to get a supply of medicine, his having given out. He reports, that he is direct from Vera Cruz, has one company of the 1st Artillery on board, has had a tedious passage, and that the yellow fever is raging among the men. They are bound for New York. The yellow fever made its appearance on board our ship, before we got out of the Gulf of Mexico, since which

it has ended the earthly troubles of many a poor soldier. When we left New Orleans we had on board about 250 men, of these nearly 100 have been attacked by this fatal disease. Some have recovered. The epidemic had its origin, no doubt, in those infected men that were forced among us from the city of Vera Cruz. Captain Snead Lieuts. Howe and Magilton are now lying sick with it.

13 August. . . At two O'clock this morning we came to anchor in Hampton Roads, after a passage of seventeen days from New Orleans, and twenty-nine from Vera Cruz. I hope during the remainder of my life, never to be called upon again to undergo so much painful feeling, and personal suffering as I have during this voyage. It is not pleasant to think of. We had no terrible storms during the passage, and, indeed, much of the time not wind enough, since we did not make a very quick trip. We looked on the old Fort with great joy after so long an absence. I felt, for the first time, in many days, as though my troubles would now find a termination. I am weak, exhausted, worn-out, and not much better than a skeleton. If I had been, or am now sick I have not acknowledged it to my self. It is a singular coincidence that our friends of the Sabattis and Mary A. Jones who left New Orleans in company with us, should have arrived at Old Point the same day we did, since we parted company at the Belize, and had not seen each other until our arrival here. Neither of these transports were affected by the yellow fever. After receiving a cordial welcome home from our old Colonel Walbach, we busied ourselves in transferring our men from the ships to the Fort, and are now as snugly stowed away again as though we had not been absent.

17 AUGUST . . I had scarcely passed a few hours on land, when I was seized by the yellow fever. During the days of the 14th and 15th, I do not know how much I suffered. However, the crisis soon passed, and I am now so far convalescent as to be able to think a little. I did not from the beginning see how it was possible for me to escape the fatal disease. My duty and humanity made it necessary, when on ship board, to take care of my men, many of whom were infected: for this purpose, I was in the habit of visiting the hold of the ship, in its narrow limits and confined air, we were compelled to place our sick. Those of my company were among the rest, and it was here that I breathed

in the rank poison. Indeed, no part of the ship could be free from it. It was infected in every part.

19 August. . Today, brother William arrived from Washington. On his return to Lowville, N. Y., he will take Columbus, O. in his route. If I can get a leave of absence granted me, I shall accompany him home, provided he can stay here until I gain a little strength.

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